Italian Material Culture At The Tudor Court

Charlotte Bolland

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Department of History, Queen Mary, University of London

Queen Mary University of London

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Arts & Humanities Research Council

I, Charlotte Bolland, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Charlotte Bolland

Abstract

This thesis analyses the means by which items of Italian material culture came into the possession of the Tudor monarchs. The different modes of acquisition provide the structure for an investigation into Anglo-Italian relations during the sixteenth century. Although the items that came to England took many forms a synthesising approach is made possible by the fact that the 'biographies' of the objects which have been selected all share a common element – they reached England and were owned by the Tudor monarchs as a result of direct contact with Italian individuals. As a result, disparate items such as glass, armour, books, textiles and horses can be discussed as part of a broader whole in which elements of one culture travelled to another. This is not a discussion of the developing dominance of Italian culture over Western Europe during the sixteenth century, for, although the adjective 'Italian' carried clear connotations in late sixteenth-century England it appears to have been rarely used in relation to material culture. Instead it is a study of the appreciation of technical skill and the attempts that were made to appropriate it, which in turn provides a point of access to the life histories of the Italians who came to England in the sixteenth century and the way in which their interaction with the highest levels of the court played a role in shaping the idea of Italy and the Italian in England.

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Finally, thank you to my parents and sister who were always there.

List of Abbreviations

1542 Inventory	M. Hayward, ed., *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and its Keeper*, 2 vols. (London, 2004).
1547 Inventory	D. Starkey, ed., *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: The Transcript* (London, 1998).
APC	*Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series: 1542-1631*, 46 vols. (London, 1890-1964).
BDECM	A. Ashbee, D. Lasocki, P. Holman and F. Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998).
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry VII*, 2 vols. (London, 1914-16); *Edward VI*, 6 vols. (London, 1924-9) *Mary I*, 3 vols. (London, 1937-9); *Elizabeth I*, 9 vols. (London, 1939-86).
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-[1625]: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, 8 vols. (London, 1856-72).
CSPF	*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Edward VI, 1547-53* (London, 1861); *Mary* (London, 1861); *Elizabeth*, 23 vols. (London, 1863-1950).
CSPM	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan*, A. B. Hinds, ed., (London, 1912).
CSPS	*Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain: preserved in the archives at Simancas and Elsewhere*, 13 vols. (London, 1862-1954) and *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas*, 4 vols. (London, 1892-9).
CSPV	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and In*

	Other Libraries of Northern Italy, R. Brown, ed., 38 vols. (London, 1864-1947).
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, A. Ghisalberti, director (Rome, 1960-).
Foedera	T. Rymer, *Foedera: conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis Acta publica, inter Reges Angliae, et alios quosuis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates, ab ingressu Gulielmi I in Angliam, A.D. 1066, ad nostra usque tempora habita aut tractate*, 10 vols. (The Hague, 1739-45).
L&P	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII: Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Elsewhere*, J. Brewer, ed., 23 vols. (London, 1862-1932).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, H. Matthew and B. Harrison, eds., 61 vols. (Oxford, 2004).
RECM	*Records of English Court Music*, A. Ashbee, ed., 9 vols. (Aldershot, 1986-96)
Sanuto	M. Sanuto, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 58 vols. (Bologna, 1969-70).
SR	*Statutes of the Realm: From Original Records (1101-1713)*, A. Luders, T. Edlyn Tomlins, J. France, W. Taunton and J. Raithby, 11 vols. (London, 1810-28).

Archive Abbreviations

ASF	Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze
ASG	Genoa, Archivio di Stato di Genova
ASL	Lucca, Archivio di Stato di Lucca
ASM	Milan, Archivio di Stato di Milano
ASMn	Mantua, Archivio di Stato di Mantova
ASV	Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BL	London, British Library
TNA	London, The National Archives

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Editorial Notes

Money, measurements and dates

In the old system of English currency there were twelve pence to the shilling and twenty shillings to the pound.[1]

Due to a steadily increasing population, and a favourable trade balance, prices rose by almost half between 1500 and 1540. By the 1580s prices were over four times the 1500 level. In 1600 they were five times higher than at the beginning of the century. Inflation was also aided by heavy Crown expenditure and the debasement of coinage, which reduced confidence in the value of money.[2]

All lengths, prices and weights have been given in their original form.

All dates have been changed to New Style, in which the year changes on 1 Jan, from Old Style, in which the year changes on 25 March.

Naming conventions

All place names have been anglicised, i.e. Venice rather than Venezia, and all monarchs' names have been anglicised, i.e. Francis rather than François.

The spelling of names has been standardised, as far as possible, in line with the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* for English names and the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* for Italian names. In order to maintain consistency, Italian names have been used even when the individual was established enough to have a widely used, Anglicised, name. For example, Pietro Vanni is used, rather than Peter Vannes. The only exception to this is Horatio Palavicino.

When an Italian name has been anglicised in an unclear manner in a document it is placed in inverted commas. For example, the Florentine merchant named as 'Charowchon'.

However, many of the musicians are only known in their Anglicised forms, so their names are given in the form listed in the *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians*.

If a Latinised name is used it is because that is the only surviving form.

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[1] For a discussion of English coinage see C. Oman, *The Coinage of England* (Oxford, 1931).

[2] For a summary of the changes that occurred in England during the sixteenth century see J. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), especially Ch. 2: 'The Condition of England'.

Transcriptions

In quoting contemporary sources, both manuscript and printed, original spellings have been maintained but all accents have been removed. Abbreviations have been silently expanded. The use of 'i' and 'j', and 'u' and 'v' has been normalised, whilst 'y' used as a thorn, as in 'ye' and 'yt' has been rendered as 'th'.

The interchangeable 'i' or 'ie' and 'y' have been left, e.g. 'ladie', 'sylke', 'wyre', and also the interchangeable 'c' or 't', in words such as 'carnacion' is left.

When a non-English source is quoted or paraphrased, the original language is in the footnote.

Citations

All quotes from the Bible use the King James version.

Due to differences in editorial formatting not all of the calendars of state papers can be cited in the same form. Where possible the volume number and document number are given. Otherwise they are listed by the date range covered, and if the documents are not numbered the page reference is given.

Introduction

At his death Henry VII bequeathed to Westminster Abbey a set of cloth of gold vestments and copes 'which we of late at our proper costs and charges, caused to be made, brought and provided, at Florence in Ittalie'.[1] A small part of this set survives at Stonyhurst College, and a cope from this group is on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 1). The copes were woven to shape out of the most costly cloth and the design incorporated the Tudor badges of roses and portcullises, whilst the integral borders included the Lancastrian collar of 'SS' and small portcullises. The biographies of these objects - their commission, production, and transmission to England - can reveal many aspects of the connections that existed between England and Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, such as the trading networks that provided finance and access to luxury products. The note in Henry VII's will that the set was made 'at Florence in Ittalie' also reveals the level of discernment about Italian technical expertise that existed at the English court, and the fact that, even though the peninsula was divided into many states, the term 'Italy' as a geographic region had currency in England (Fig. 2).[2] The biographies can also be used to inform an analysis of the reception of Italian material culture in England because they offer an example of active cultural exchange rather than passive cultural transfer.[3] In the case of the copes, the interaction occurred when the pieces of cloth arrived in England and had orphreys and scapulars of English embroidery added to them. The copes and vestments were clearly considered to be high status items; Henry VIII borrowed them to incorporate into his competitive display of magnificence with Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold,[4]

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[1] T. Astle, ed., *The Will of King Henry VII* (London, 1775), p. 37.

[2] Throughout this thesis the term 'Italy' and 'Italian' is used describe the Italian peninsula and its people, for although it did not exist as a single state during this period, contemporaries nonetheless had a strong sense of the meaning of the terms and used them frequently. For examples see F. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia* (Florence, 1561), published in English by R. Field, *The Historie of Guicciardin* (London, 1599), and W. Thomas, *The History of Italy (1549)* (New York, 1963). Fig. 2 is a detail from a map by Battista Agnese that was presented to Edward VI - which will be discussed in Chapter 3 - which shows the peninsula marked as 'Italia'.

[3] B. Roeck, 'Introduction', in H. Roodenburg, ed., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe,* IV: *Forging European Identities, 1400-1700* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 4.

[4] E. Hall, *Chronicle: Containing the History of England, during the Reign of Henry IV and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1809), p. 606. A description of the

Fig. 1: *The Stonyhurst Cope*, cloth of gold velvet, Florence, *c*. 1495-1505, orphreys and hood embroidered in England, possibly added in the seventeenth century, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, Loan: Stonyhurst 1.

Fig. 2: Battista Agnese, Atlas, detail, vellum, *c*. 1543, Lambeth Palace Library MS 463, f. 14.

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copes that were taken to the Field of the Cloth of Gold states that 'all the Coopes and Vestementes so riche as might be prepared or bought in the citie of Florens, for all the copes and Vestementes wer but of one pece, so woven for the purpose, cloth of Tissue and poudered with redde Roses purled with fine golde'.

and they were also sent to London during a visit by Charles V.[5] Ultimately, part of the set was selected to return to royal ownership following the dissolution of the monastery of St. Peter's at Westminster.[6]

In his essay contribution to the multivolume *Storia d'Italia*, entitled 'L'Italia fuori d'Italia', Braudel noted that no systematic study had been attempted of the diffusion of Italian products abroad during the Renaissance.[7] This he attributed partly to the difficulty of studying a broad array of items, and partly to the variety of agents who were involved in the transfer of these items into new contexts. Such an enterprise, he concluded, would only be possible through collective research.[8] One means by which this issue can be approached - although only within the limited context of the movement of Italian products to England - is through drawing on the expertise of scholars from different fields in an analysis of the items of Italian material culture that were owned by the Tudor monarchs.[9] The arrival of the set of copes from Italy was not a unique moment of cultural exchange for during the Tudor period such items came to England in many forms and through a variety of channels. An investigation of these items offers the opportunity to explore England's engagement with Italy, using the context that

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[5] L. Monnas, '"Tissues" in England During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *CIETA Bulletin*, 75 (1998), p. 79.

[6] L. Monnas, 'New Documents for the Vestments of Henry VII at Stonyhurst College', *Burlington Magazine*, 131 (1989), p. 346. By 1563 only 24 of the copes remained at Westminster and by 1608 there were only 11, and these were burned in 1643.

[7] F. Braudel, 'L'Italia fuori d'Italia: Due secoli e tre Italie', in *Storia d'Italia*, 2.2 (Turin, 1974), p. 2145: 'Il male è che non è stata ancora scritta, né si è tentato di scrivere una storia complete della diffusione dei beni culturali provenienti dall'Italia, capace di mettere in luce doni e trasferimenti, da un lato, accettazioni, adozioni, adattamenti e rifiuti, dall'altro. Uno studio del genere richiederebbe ancora ricerche molto approfondite. Ci occorrerebbe una grammatica, un dizionario, una cartografia di questi beni diffuse, che dovrebbero essere analizzati in partenza nei loro elementi piú precisi ... come sia necessario essere attenti ad ogni tipo di beni culturali diffuse e di agenti: artisti, ma anche mercanti, operai, semplici viggiatori, senza i quali quei beni non si trasferirebbero fuori d'Italia. Chi sono questi agenti? Come operano, e dove? Sono problemi posti spesso e ai quali si sono date risposte insufficiente.'

[8] *Ibid*., p. 2145: 'Soltanto una grande inchiesta collettiva potrebbe superare le numerose difficoltà.'

[9] In this study the term 'material culture' is used as a simple means of grouping together a variety of material 'things', such as sculpture, armour, textiles, musical instruments and glass. It is, however, a very broad term that can be used to explore many theoretical and methodological issues, see K. Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture* (London and New York, 2009).

surrounds each piece to provide a cultural biography of the items, which in turn provides a snapshot of England's diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with Italy.[10]

Constructing a cultural biography of items, which looks at specific things as they move through different hands, contexts and uses,[11] offers an appropriate means by which to study a relatively lengthy period of over one hundred years, and also of exploring the full variety of ways in which England came into contact with Italy. It is more suitable than a study of the social history of such things, which would assess them as part of a class or type of thing.[12] This is because it can compensate for the fact that so much has been lost, which makes it hard to amass statistically sound quantitative data that can cover the whole period. However, biographies of things offer numerous potential pathways of research, which can take into account such aspects as the status, production, and usage of the object, and thus it is an approach that needs to be refined further.[13] Within this study the disparate items are unified by the fact that they all share a common moment in their biographies: they were acquired by the Tudor monarchs through direct contact with Italians. The acquisition of these items, as both gifts and commodities, meant that items of Italian material culture came to form part of the *habitus* of the English monarchs and as such can be explored 'as expressions of the mentality of [that] particular social environment'.[14]

The Italian items formed part of what is today called the Royal Collection, that is, the property of the sovereign that is held in trust for the nation. However, the use of the term 'collection' in reference to the possessions of the Tudor monarchs would be misleading. In 1587 Gabriel Kaltemarckt advised Christian I of Saxony on how to form

[10] An example of the narratives that such an approach can reveal can be seen in E. De Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Hidden Inheritance* (London, 2010).

[11] A. Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value' in A. Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 34.

[12] *Ibid*., p. 34.

[13] I. Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in A. Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 66-8.

[14] B. Roeck, 'Venice and Germany: Commercial Contacts and Intellectual Inspirations', in B. Aikema and B. Brown, eds., *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Dürer, Bellini and Titian* (London, 1999), p. 45.

an art collection, laying out its structure and the importance of including items such as sculpture, paintings, curiosities from nature, coins and medals, as well as listing the most desirable artists.[15] Such classification is key to the formation of collections and subsequently the history of collecting has been described as 'the narrative of how human beings have striven to accommodate, to appropriate and to extend the taxonomies and systems of knowledge they have inherited'.[16] It is the development of this system of classification that clearly separates the mentality of Henry VIII from that of the most famous English royal collector, Charles I. The items owned by Henry, and this comparison with Charles I is particularly true for items of Italian material culture, were valued for their utility rather than as possessions, and it is from the latter that a collection is formed.[17] Tudor magnificence was not displayed through organised, discerning, and erudite collections but rather through the collective impression created by the overt grandeur of their property: the best horses, the most expensive textiles, and the incorporation of novel and innovative design in the production of all types of objects. These combined together to proclaim the power of the monarch. The materialist accumulation of both capital and consumer goods evident in these items replaced 'the traditional pattern of hoarding wealth' and made wealth 'a more active part of social and economic life'.[18] This does not mean that items need to be rigidly defined as 'capital' or 'consumer' goods, because during different stages of their biographies they could move between states; for example, elaborately decorated plate was often the first thing to be melted down and converted to coin in order to raise revenues. The importance of this process of accumulation was noted by Tudor contemporaries. Edward VI's Privy Councillors observed that if, in order to fulfil the requirements of Henry VIII's will:

> ... we shulde have solde such juelles, plate or other riche hanginges ... our Souveraine Lorde that now is, shuld not only have had greate losse as well by

[15] B. Gutfleisch and J. Menzhausen, '"How a Kunstkammer Should be Formed": Gabriel Kaltemarckt's Advice to Christian I of Saxony on the Formation of an Art Collection, 1587', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 1.1 (1989), pp. 3-32.

[16] J. Elsner and R. Cardinal, 'Introduction', in J. Elsner and R. Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (London, 1994), p. 2.

[17] J. Baudrillard, 'The System of Collecting', in J. Elsner and R. Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (London, 1994), p. 8.

[18] C. Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York, 1983), p. 4.

> the sale of them, for that hereafter he shuld for sundry respectes occurring had occasion to bye new to his greter charge, but also a marvelouse grete dishonour wolde have followed, first to him that is gone, whose soule God hathe, and next to the Kinges Majestie that now is and to the whole realme; and no lesse daunger to thole for that forthwith shuld have appeared to all the worlde a present lacke within the realme, which hitherto hath been reputed to have been the most riche and welthie.[19]

In these terms, the continuing accumulation of the assets of the English monarchy is a process that originated in the early Tudor period.[20] Although the Royal Collection as it stands today has been largely formed following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, enough pieces from the sixteenth century survive for it to be taken as the first point from which the collection can be understood as a whole. This is because the relative stability of the monarchy following the Wars of the Roses, and its increasing centralisation, offered the opportunity for the long-term accumulation of items.

The Tudor period also offers a useful point from which to assess the items of Italian material culture that were owned by English monarchs because of the survival of evidence; two inventories of Henry VIII's property provide the earliest opportunity to analyse the items owned by an English monarch as a comprehensive whole. One of these inventories was taken in 1542 by the Keeper of the Palace of Whitehall, Sir Anthony Denny, and consisted of the contents of the palace, listed by type rather than location.[21] The other was commissioned in 1547 following Henry VIII's death and was far more wide-ranging, encompassing jewels, plate, ordnance, munitions, ships, inventories of the armouries, stables, revels, tents and vestry, and the contents of each of

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[19] *APC*, II, p. 21.

[20] C. Davies, 'The Tudor Delusion', *Times Literary Supplement* (11 June 2008). Whilst Davies clearly makes the point that the term 'Tudor' can be considered anachronistic because it was not used by contemporaries, its use is nonetheless sufficiently well-established for it to provide a comprehensible means of identifying the period that covers the reigns of Henry VII, his son Henry VIII and his grandchildren Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. For a general survey of the Tudor monarchs see Guy, *Tudor England*.

[21] TNA, E315/160; M. Hayward, *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and its Keeper*, 2 vols. (London, 2004). This work includes a full transcription of the inventory.

the king's palaces and the various specialist wardrobes.[22] These inventories make it clear that research should encompass a variety of items in order to reflect the way in which the Tudor monarchs displayed magnificence. The opportunity offered by a broad approach can be clearly seen by a comparison of the size of the inventory that Shaw collated of Henry VIII's and Edward VI's pictures with that of the edited transcript of the 1547 inventory which lists all of the monarch's possessions.[23] This still holds true in the Royal Collection today; although the number of paintings has increased to over **7,**000 since the reign of Henry VIII, it is still dwarfed by the 600,000 items that are classified as 'works of art'.

The two inventories show how much has been lost. Henry VIII owned nearly sixty residences at the time of his death, and of these only Hampton Court (Fig. 3), St. James's Palace (Fig. 4) and the building complex around Windsor Castle (Fig. 5) survive to any great extent.[24] The appearance of the lost buildings has been recorded in various paintings and drawings, most notably those made by the Flemish artist Antonis Van der Wyngaerde during the mid sixteenth century (Figs. 6-8). Whitehall, the only sixteenth-century residence to be consistently referred to by contemporaries as a palace, was extensively remodelled in the seventeenth century and then partially destroyed by fire, which resulted in the loss of many items, including the great Tudor dynastic mural that was painted by Hans Holbein the Younger in 1537 and which is now only fully known through a copy painted for Charles II (Fig. 9).[25] Richmond was built by Henry VII following the destruction of the pre-existing building by fire in 1497. Its design

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[22] London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 129 A and B, and BL, MS Harley 1419 A and B; D. Starkey, ed., *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: The Transcript* (London, 1998) (vols. II and III forthcoming). The transcription also includes three shorter inventories that were taken during the reign of Edward VI.

[23] W. Shaw, ed., *Three Inventories of the Years 1542, 1547 and 1549-50 of Pictures in the Collections of Henry VIII & Edward VI* (London, 1937); *1547 Inventory.*

[24] For a full discussion of the building and maintenance of the Tudor royal residences see H. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols. (London, 1963-1982), in particular volumes III and IV. Also S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life, 1460-1547* (New Haven and London, 1993), and S. Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 2003) for a detailed analysis of Hampton Court. For Windsor Castle see W. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History*, 3 vols. (London 1913), I, pp. 246-86.

[25] S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698* (New Haven and London, 1999).

Fig. 3: Hampton Court Palace, aerial view showing the surviving Tudor palace and the seventeenth-century redevelopment in the upper right.

Fig. 4: St. James' Palace, view of the surviving Tudor elements.

Fig. 5: St. George's Chapel at Windsor, begun under Edward IV and completed during the reign of Henry VIII.

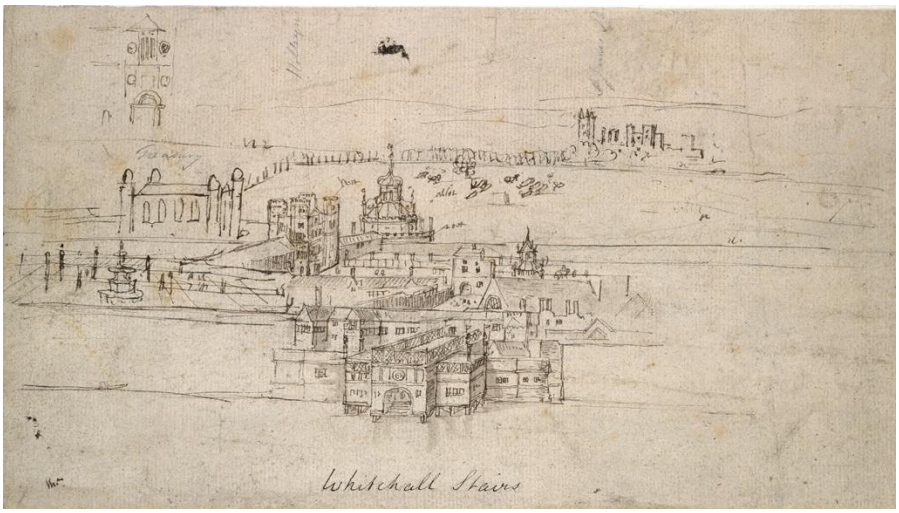

Fig. 6: Antonis Van der Wyngaerde, *Whitehall Stairs*, pen and ink over indications in black chalk, *c*. 1558-62, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA.C.IV*.99a.

Fig. 7: Antonis Van der Wyngaerde, *Richmond Palace from the North-East*, pen and ink, *c*. 1558-62, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA.C.IV.II.54.

Fig. 8: Antonis Van der Wyngaerde, *Greenwich Palace from the North Bank of the Thames*, pen and brown ink and watercolour over faint indications in black chalk, 1558, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA.C.LG.IV.8.

Fig. 9: Remigius van Leemput, *Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Jane Seymour*, oil on canvas, 1667, The Royal Collection, RCIN 405750.

Fig. 10: Joris Hoefnagel, *The Progress of Queen Elizabeth to Nonsuch Palace*, pen and brown ink, with grey-brown, blue and red wash, on paper, 1568, British Museum 1943, 1009.35.

Fig. 11: Attributed to Girolamo da Treviso, *A Protestant Allegory*, oil on panel, *c*. 1538-44, The Royal Collection, RCIN

was greatly influenced by Burgundian building style; it was constructed from brick and featured long galleries and gabled roofs.[26] Within thirty years it had fallen from royal favour. It was sold following the Civil War and gradually demolished to provide building materials. Greenwich, where both Henry VIII and Elizabeth I were born, also had Burgundian elements and fell into disrepair during the Civil War.[27] Ultimately the Tudor palace was demolished during renovations executed for Charles II. Finally, of the great Tudor buildings, Nonsuch (Fig. 10) has left perhaps the least trace.[28] Built following the birth of Edward VI it was claimed to have no equal in terms of magnificence, and was a statement of Tudor power that utilised the skills of the finest craftsmen. However, it never became fully established as a royal residence; Henry VIII only visited it twice and it was unfinished at his death. The building was given to Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel by Mary, and it then passed to his son-in-law John Lord Lumley, who, because of his debts, passed it back to the Crown, and Elizabeth. In 1671 Charles II gave it to his mistress, Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland and it was ultimately demolished in order to sell the building materials. For all of these buildings it is often true that the only sources that give an impression of the way in which items were displayed and used are the reports and diaries of visitors from abroad.[29] It is very difficult to match surviving objects to their locations in inventories; one rare example is the painting *A Protestant Allegory* (Fig. 11), which has been attributed to the artist and

[26]Thurley, *The Royal Palaces*, pp. 27-32.

[27] *Ibid*., p. 35.

[28] M. Biddle, 'Nonsuch Palace 1959-60: An Interim Report', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 58 (1961), pp. 1-20, gives the details of the excavation of the palace**;** J. Dent, *The Quest for Nonsuch* (London, 1962)**.**

[29]For examples of some of these accounts see W. Rye, *England As Seen By Foreigners* (London, 1865); G. Von Bülow, trans., 'Journey Through England and Scotland Made by Lupold Von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 9 (1895), pp. 223-70; C. Williams, trans., *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599* (London, 1937); G. Von Bülow, ed., 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, Through England in the Year 1602', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 6, (1892), pp. 1-68; V. Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners* (London, 1928).

engineer Girolamo da Treviso, and which can be seen from the 1547 inventory to have hung in the gallery at Hampton Court.[30]

It is not only palaces that have been lost. The inventories of 1542 and 1547, whilst comprehensive, only provide isolated snapshots because nothing was undertaken on a similar scale until the seventeenth century, when Charles I's goods were prepared for sale.[31] Calculations using the listings given in the 1547 inventory suggest that Henry VIII's civil assets were worth at least £300,000, equivalent to one year's annual Crown revenue, and his military assets, such as ships, forts and artillery, held a similar value.[32] Many of the items that feature prominently in the inventories, in particular the textiles and clothing, were fragile and thus it is not surprising that they do not survive. The appearance and expense of the clothing of the Tudor monarchs has been pieced together in two major studies, using Wardrobe accounts and paintings as sources as well as inventories.[33] Tapestries too represented an enormous area of Tudor expenditure, particularly during the reign of Henry VIII, and the scale of the collection had long been overlooked until a recent study, mainly because of their poor survival rate.[34] It was not only the natural depredations of time that posed a threat; for example, the disruption of the Civil War resulted in the purposeful destruction of certain items in order to extract the raw materials. In October 1644 the Commons ordered that the coin and plate stored in the Tower of London should be melted down and converted into coin for the raising and maintenance of troops.[35] Five years later all of Charles I's property was inventoried

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[30] P. Pouncey, 'Girolamo da Treviso in the Service of Henry VIII', *Burlington Magazine*, 95 (1953), pp. 210-11; *1547 Inventory*, no. 12321: 'Item a table of the busshopp of Rome and the foure evaungelistes casting stones apon him'.

[31] O. Millar, 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651', *The Walpole Society*, 43 (1972) provides a composite text of the inventories; A. MacGregor, ed., *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* (London and Oxford, 1989), provides an analysis of the collection.

[32] *1547 Inventory*, p. xi.

[33] M. Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds, 2007); J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd: The Inventories of the Wardrobe of the Robes Prepared in July 1600* (Leeds, 1988).

[34] T. Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty: Tapestries at the Tudor Court* (New Haven and London, 2007).

[35] Millar, 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651', p. xii. The collection of Tudor plate has been analysed in A. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: The Inventory of*

for sale following his execution. Certain items from the sale were reserved for the state, including the king's books, medals, models, globes and mathematical instruments in the library.[36] Thus part of Henry VIII's library survived - albeit depleted during Edward VI's reign by the 1550 Act against Superstitious Books and Images which resulted in the order in 1551 to purge the Royal Library[37] - and is now held in the British Library, following the donation of many of the books from the Royal Library in 1757.[38] Despite these losses, the property of the Tudor monarchs is far more richly documented than that of other institutions and individuals, and warrants, gift rolls, ambassadorial reports and diplomatic correspondence all offer information with which to supplement the inventories. Nonetheless, the gaps in the historical record and the paucity of surviving items suggest that qualitative research is most appropriate, using the biographies of individual pieces to draw together a broader picture of the position of Italian material culture at the English court.

It must be noted that although the survival of the 1542 and 1547 inventories provides a level of information that is not available for the other Tudor reigns, this study nonetheless encompasses the entire period. It is evident that the closest relations between the two regions occurred during the reign of Henry VIII, and this is true across the areas of diplomacy, trade and recruitment. However, to focus solely on the first half of the sixteenth century would be to ignore both the important level of continuity that occurred between the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII in this area, and the legacy of the connections that were formed during Henry VIII's reign which allowed certain Italians to carve out significant roles at the Elizabethan court. The brief reigns of Edward VI and Mary are also worthy of examination in order to analyse the impact of the Reformation on the position of Italians at court, for while many of the most prominent Italian artists to work in England did so during Henry VIII's reign, it is too simplistic to say that Henry bequeathed to his son 'a traumatised country from which

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1574 (London, 1955) and a recent catalogue, K. Aschengreen Piacenti and J. Boardman, *Ancient and Modern Gems and Jewels In the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 2008), p. 13, stresses that nothing of Elizabeth's remains within the collection.

[36] Millar, 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651', p. xx.

[37] J. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives* (London, 2004), p. 144; *SR*, IV, 3&4 Edw VI, c. 10; *APC*, III, p. 224.

[38] J. Carley, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London, 2000).

the artists had fled'.[39] Analysis of the items that were acquired during the period between the death of Henry VIII and the accession of Elizabeth also allows for an assessment of the role of Rome, and contact with the Catholic Church, in the accumulation of Italian material culture by the Tudor monarchs.

Despite the loss of documentary evidence and objects over time, a wide ranging approach offers a plethora of sources to draw upon. In documentary terms the calendared English state papers provide an invaluable means of accessing a wide range of evidence from across the whole period.[40] For example, Rawdon Brown's compilation of the *Calendar of State Papers Venetian* brought together all of the references to England that were to be found in the archives of Northern Italy.[41] As has been explained, few items of Italian manufacture survive within the Royal Collection that have a royal provenance dating back to the Tudor period. However, there are numerous items that are identifiable, or at least extremely similar, surviving in collections around the world. Such is the dispersion of items that this study cannot be exhaustively comprehensive but, nonetheless, it seeks to reflect the main areas of production that were associated with Italy by the English, and the means by which such items reached England. Drawing together so many fragments allows the single elements to demonstrate 'the cumulative and reciprocal effect of their relations to each other'.[42] Categorising these items by the mode by which they were acquired leads to a natural focus on certain types of object in certain sections. For example, although it seems very likely that Italian books were bought by the Tudors, analysis of their libraries from inventories proves inconclusive because it is impossible to know from the titles whether

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[39] E. Chaney, *The Evolution of English Collecting: The Reception of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 33.

[40] These printed volumes make it possible to survey a large amount of material, and they also provide a baseline of information for archival research.

[41] R. Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and In Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, 38 vols. (1864-1947). See also A. Luzio, ed., *L'Archivio Gonzaga di Mantova: la corrispondenza familiare, amministrativa e diplomatica dei Gonzaga* (Mantua, 1993), p. 120. Luzio notes that although Brown thoroughly covered the Venetian archive he did not personally go to Mantua and often used copies of Mantuan correspondence from the diary of Marin Sanuto.

[42] T. Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 11-12.

they refer to the first editions, many of which were published in Venice, or later editions from elsewhere in Europe.[43] Some books do survive from the Tudor royal library, for example a blank book bound in Italy in gold-tooled red morocco with the 'HR' monogram and Tudor rose opposite the royal arms.[44] However, the details of their purchase are hard to trace because trading records, if they contain mention of books, tend to only list them by volume.[45] By contrast, the incorporation of dedications allows surviving books and manuscripts to be studied as gifts – as opposed to purchases - in far greater depth.

All of the items owned by the Tudor monarchs were also situated within the context of the English court, the political and cultural centre of the realm. The court not only constituted the physical space in which the monarch resided, but also consisted of the courtiers who populated the space; it thus served the ruler in both a physical and a political sense. Many of these individuals also possessed items of Italian material culture. They included figures such as Thomas Cromwell, who spent time on the peninsula as a young man, and Cardinal Pole, who spent almost his entire life there. Such connections naturally resulted in a close association with Italian culture; for example, Cromwell was amongst the first Englishmen to own a copy of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortigiano*,[46] and Pole had his portrait painted by Sebastiano del Piombo, which survives in The Hermitage, St. Petersburg (Fig. 12).[47] Cardinal Wolsey, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland all

[43] Carley, *The Libraries*. Carley's edited lists of Henry VIII's books illustrate this problem, because although it is possible to discern the content of many of the works it is often hard to identify what form it took, in terms of manuscript or printed book, and if it was a book, which edition of the work Henry owned.

[44] *Ibid*., pp. 242-3. BL, Tab 1291b.1 may well be one of the books 'of royall paper bounde after the Venecian fascion' that were delivered for Henry VIII's use.

[45] A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton 1270-1600* (Southampton, 1951), p. 75. In 1488 the London merchant Richard Brent imported five chests of books from the Venetian galley fleet at Southampton and in 1495 seven small chests of books, some printed and some copied by hand, were brought ashore from another Venetian galley. Other consignments are noted in the port books of Southampton but no details are given of their contents.

[46] G. Cecil Grayson, 'Thomas Hoby e Castiglione in Inghilterra', *La Cultura*, 2 (1983), p. 138.

[47] M. Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 120-1. Hirst identifies the portrait as Pole despite Strong's rejection of it in R. Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* , 2 vols. (London, 1969), I, pp. 252-3,

Fig. 12: Sebastiano del Piombo, *Cardinal Pole*, oil on canvas, 1540s, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Fig. 13: Woodcut from Andrew Boorde's *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (London, c. 1547), A.iii, verso.

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on the grounds of the similarity of the sitter to a figure, identified as Pole, in Giorgio Vasari's *Paul III bestowing favours*. The early provenance of the Hermitage work is unknown, but portraits of Pole were in demand in Italy in the 1540s.

sought to incorporate Italian elements into their architectural projects,[48] whilst many individuals, such as Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, used connections with Italian merchants to purchase specific items.[49] However, leaving the Tudor monarchs at the heart of the study, rather than including all of the items of Italian material culture that were present at the Tudor court, provides a natural line of institutional continuity which allows for the possibility of meaningful contrasts and comparisons to be drawn out across a relatively long timeframe. Furthermore, Crown expenditure dwarfed that of other patrons and provided a model for courtiers, whilst the monarch provided a natural focal point for gift-giving and patronage.

The items that were owned by the Tudor monarchs, and the means by which they were acquired, played a role in shaping court culture. This culture served the monarch and the court by imposing 'a collectively shared cognitive order upon the world which, objectively, is totally heterogeneous and presents an endless array of singular things',[50] and thus provides a means of approaching the *mentalité* of the period. It can be analysed through the study of customs and values as well as 'high' culture such as paintings and plays, but it must be stressed that whilst it may have imposed 'a collectively shared cognitive order', that is not to state that the culture was homogenous. Indeed, the magpie tendencies of the English in relation to foreign ideas were often satirised by contemporaries, particularly in relation to dress. In Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* Portia mocks her English suitor with the words: 'How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his

[48] For a discussion of Wolsey's architectural patronage see J. Foyle, 'An Archaeological Reconstruction of Thomas Wolsey's Hampton Court Palace', PhD Thesis (University of Reading, 2002), although Foyle may go too far in his analysis of the extent of the influence of Rome in Wolsey's development of the palace. See also J. Harris, 'Somerset House, London', *Country Life*, 142 (1967), pp. 1248-52. Somerset's house on the Strand has been described as 'the first front in England consciously composed with classical elements', Northumberland was a keen architectural patron who sent John Shute, author of *The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture*, 1563, to Italy to study architecture.

[49] L. Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford, 1956), p. 187. Horatio Palavicino, a London based merchant, used his Genoese agent Giovanni Battista Giustiniano to purchase items for Robert Cecil including cases of velvet, cochineal, gold embroidery, damask and prunes.

[50] Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', p. 70. On the anthropological turn in history see P. Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 30-48.

behaviour everywhere'.[51] Such indecisiveness was ridiculed at the other extreme by Andrew Boorde in his description of the English:

> I am an English man, and naked I stand here
> Musyng in my mynde, what rayment I shal were
> For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that
> Now I wyl were I cannot tel what
> All new fashyons be plesaunt to me.[52]

This text was accompanied by a woodcut depicting an unclothed Englishman with shears in his hand which became 'a stock emblem for representing the absurd sartorial habits of the Englishman' (Fig. 13).[53] The codification of national costume was a phenomenon that developed during the sixteenth century as trade created greater cosmopolitanism, and competition between alternatives stimulated imitation of different types of dress.[54] What is notable is the way in which, just as with language, it was through exposure to other forms that the English came to define their own fashions. The stress on the importance of wearing English clothes runs parallel to the praise and development of vernacular English that occurred in conjunction with the growing popularity of spoken and written vernacular Italian – both were examples of the way in which 'cultural exchange awakens people to alterity'.[55]

It must, therefore, be understood that the acquisition of Italian material culture by the Tudor monarchs took place within the context of the shifting influence of other courts, in particular those of Burgundy and France, as the monarchs continually made choices about the means by which they displayed their magnificence.[56] From the sources it is

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[51] W. Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, J. Russell Brown, ed. (London, 1955), Act I, Scene 2.

[52] A. Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (London, 1555), A.iii, v. The first edition was published in 1542.

[53] R. Hentschell, 'A Question of Nation: Foreign Clothes on the English Subject', in C. Richardson, ed., *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 55.

[54] Mukerji, *From Graven Images*, p. 75.

[55] Roeck, 'Introduction', p. 5.

[56] G. Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden, 1977); G. Richardson, 'Anglo-French Political and Cultural Relations During the Reign of Henry VIII', PhD Thesis (University of London, 1995).

evident that the number of items that were associated with Italy was never proportionally significant, even when assessing the collection as a whole. Items of domestic production, and from nearby France and the Low Countries, were acquired in far greater volume. Nonetheless, the importance of Italian material culture within this overarching context is such that it, and the many Italian individuals who were associated with its creation and use, such as artisans and musicians, formed a key part of Tudor monarchical representation and exerted a disproportionate influence. Furthermore, as a relatively small number of individuals were involved, unlike the mass immigration from France and the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century, each individual can be considered as an agent of transmission in their own right. This is not, however, an attempt to construct a narrative of a process of 'Italianisation', for the application of a simplistic model of a prevailing court aesthetic would fail to recognize the presence of multiple concurrent developmental trajectories, each pushing a different aspect of the Tudor artistic establishment down a different path.[57] Although it is difficult to form a coherent picture of cultural influence from such seemingly unrelated areas as book dedications and textiles,[58] grouping items together by the virtue of a common source allows for a cumulative investigation that draws together such diverse aspects as England's diplomatic relationships with the rulers of the Italian peninsula, patronage, trade and migration. This overarching approach allows for a reassessment of the notion that 'in the 1530s the Reformation cut off direct contact with Italy',[59] because it naturally leads to a collation of information about the individuals who brought items to England, be they diplomats, merchants or artisans.

Anglo-Italian connections in the sixteenth century have been a source of interest to many historians.[60] One well studied area has been the Englishmen who visited Italy, both to study and to travel,[61] and another has been the literary connections, ranging

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[57] Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court*, p. 28.

[58] *Ibid*., p. 28.

[59] D. Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (London, 1991), p. 26.

[60] For introductory surveys see L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902); *England and the Mediterranean Tradition: Studies in Art, History and Literature* (London, 1945) and J. Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance: The Growth of Interest in its History and Art* (London, 1954).

[61] For a survey of English students in Italy see J. Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Cambridge, 1998), and for English travellers to Italy see K. Bartlett, *The English in*

from the development of humanism in England,[62] to the role of Italy in providing source material for English drama,[63] that brought England closer to Italy. The cultural transmission that occurred within these areas was often effected at a distance, through correspondence and the circulation of texts,[64] and as a result provides an essential balance to this study's research into the Italians who came to England. Nonetheless, the position of material culture is often sidelined in these studies, in part perhaps because the humanist spirit in collecting, which involved owning gems and cameos 'as evidence for all aspects of antique history, life, culture and religion',[65] and which was inspired by the great Italian art patrons such as the Gonzaga, d' Este and Medici,[66] did not develop in England until the seventeenth century.

This study in many ways extends Wyatt's research on the position of the Italian language in England into the realm of material culture, often encountering the same individuals who he rightly stressed played a key part in importing Italian culture to England.[67] Whilst Wyatt argued that the power of Italian culture in England was 'mediated during the Tudor era most consistently through textual means' because of 'the potential of words to allow us into a space different culturally or historically from

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Italy 1525-1558: A Study in Culture and Politics (Geneva, 1991) and E. Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance* (London, 1998).

[62] For a collation of Italian humanist writings on England see M. Cossart, *This Little World: Renaissance Italians' View of English Society* (Liverpool, 1984) and M. Cossart, *This Sceptred Isle: Renaissance Italians' View of English Institutions* (Liverpool, 1984).

[63] M. Praz, *The Flaming Heart: Essays on Crashaw, Machiavelli, and Other Studies in the Relations Between Italian and English Literature from Chaucer to T.S. Eliot* (New York, 1958); M. Pfister, 'Shakespeare and Italy, Or, the Law of Diminishing Returns', in M. Marrapodi, A. Hoenselaars, M. Cappuzzo, L. Falzon Stantucci eds., *Shakespeare's Italy: Functions of Italian Locations in Renaissance Drama* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 295-303.

[64] D. Rundle, 'Polydore Vergil and the *Translatio Studiorum*: The Tradition of Italian Humanists in England', in R. Bacchielli, ed., *Polidoro Virgili e la cultura umanistica europea* (Urbino, 2000), pp. 60-2.

[65] MacGregor, *The Late King's Goods,* p. 54.

[66] J. Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures* (New York, 1996), p. 65. By contrast Cox-Rearick points out that under Francis I 'the very act of collecting art in France in the early sixteenth century was Italian-inspired'.

[67] M. Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge, 2005).

our own',[68] the biographies of material things can nonetheless be used to illustrate different aspects of the ways in which the monarch came into contact with Italian culture. An example of just such an object is Katherine Parr's copy of *Il Petrarcha con l'espositione d'Alessandro Vellutello*, which was printed in Venice in 1544, and which survives in the British Library (Fig. 14).[69] The presence of this book in England undoubtedly fits well into the context of Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's translations of Petrarch's sonnets into English in the 1520s and 1530s, and stands as testament to the knowledge of the Italian language at the highest levels of the English court.[70] However, as a singular object it also offers up alternate avenues of research. The means by which it was acquired is unknown, and whilst it has been suggested that it could have been brought from Venice by one of the queen's musicians,[71] it could equally have travelled in the luggage of a diplomat or merchant. Furthermore, the materials of the book further attest to its status and the way in which items of Italian material culture became associated with English royal magnificence; it is bound in purple Italian velvet, with English embroidery wrought with Venice gold and silver thread – a hybrid object which remained in the royal library for generations.[72] This book is one example of the way in which extending the source material by exploring things as well as words augments the study of Anglo-Italian connections by offering the opportunity to examine the role of tangible items in parallel to the circulation of texts. It is also highlights the similarities between the assimilation of Italian ideas into the English language, where 'the lessons of Italian Renaissance culture [were] now available in thoroughly English dress',[73] and the assimilation of Italian skills into the material culture produced in England.

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[68] *Ibid*., pp. 157, 5.

[69] BL, C.27.e.19: *Il Petrarcha con l'espositione d'Alessandro Vellutello, di novo ristampato con le figure a i triomphi, et con piu cose utili in varii luoghi aggiunte* (Venice, 1544).

[70] S. James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 34, 208. James suggests that Katherine may have learnt Italian as a child, but can provide no explanation for her particular interest beyond the fact that she became interested in Italian Calvinism.

[71] *Ibid*., p. 222.

[72] Nichols, J., *Literary Remains of King Edward VI*, 2 vols (New York, 1857), I, p. cccxxvi. This book passed to Edward VI and is marked on the back E. VI. R. It passed to the British Museum in 1757 with other items from the Royal Library.

[73] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 198.

Fig. 14: Embroidered velvet binding of Katherine Parr's copy of *Il Petrarcha con l'espositione d'Alessandro Vellutello* (Venice, 1544), The British Library, C.27.3.19.

At this point it must be noted that the analysis of Italian material culture at the English court is complicated by the spread of the 'Italianate' as a decorative style. This type of ornament was also known as 'antique' work and could apply to any form that referenced ancient Rome; its use stemmed from the recording of the decorative schemes in the *grotte* of Nero's *Domus Aurea*,[74] and the survival of pattern books suggests that the motifs were consciously adopted in Northern Europe.[75] Furthermore, 'antique' work was bound up with the narratives of the pagan gods - subject matter that became increasingly popular across Europe.[76] Such ornament has been described as 'a mode of visual address, which embodied and was often intended to proclaim definable social, political, ideological or cultural values', and it could convey both cognitive and effective meaning, through the associations with the grandeur of ancient Rome and through the comprehension of figurative scenes.[77] This visual legacy of Rome was widely adopted and antique work designs spread through the mediation of print.[78] Such ornament could be applied to a wide variety of items of material culture, including architecture, paintings and metalwork, and its spread embodied one of the ways in which 'Europeans – those people who, it seems, were increasingly becoming aware of themselves as the French, the Poles or the English – also related themselves....to ancient Rome, to its Latin culture, to the system of Roman law, to its *imperium*'.[79] Nonetheless,

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[74] For a discussion of the messages that could be conveyed by the *all'antica* style in an Italian context see '*All'antica* style' in L. Syson and D. Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2001), pp. 78-134. For a discussion of the diffusion of the grotesque style see A. Zamperini, *Le Grottesche: Il sogno della pittura nella decorazione parietale* (Venice, 2007).

[75] A. Morrall, 'Ornament as Evidence', in K. Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture* (London and New York, 2009), p. 49; Thurley, *The Royal Palaces*, p. 93. A vellum copy of a northern Italian pattern-book, which could conceivably have been copied by a craftsman for use in England, can be found in the Sir John Soane museum.

[76] For a discussion of the means by which the narratives and iconography of the pagan divinities entered the European imagination during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see J. Godwin, *The Pagan Dream of the Renaissance* (London, 2002).

[77] Morrall, 'Ornament as Evidence', pp. 47, 53.

[78] A. Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625* (New Haven and London, 1997).

[79] R. Porter and M. Teich, 'Introduction', in R. Porter and M. Teich, eds., *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 3. For a discussion of the use of the antique in England see the collected essays in L. Gent, ed., *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660* (New Haven and London, 1995).

despite this overarching context, the study of Italianate decoration does not offer a clear means by which to analyse England's reception of Italian material culture because the designs often reached England from France, the Low Countries and Germany and thus stood at many removes from contemporary Italy.

In an alternate sense the term 'Italianate' did relate closely to contemporary Italy – it was a pejorative term, associated with the proverb that an 'Inglese italianato è un diavolo incarnato'.[80] The structures and form of Italian etiquette had travelled around Europe in a similar manner to 'antiquework' designs – through print. As a result the young Englishman did not have to travel to be exposed to the notion of the ideal courtier as promulgated by Baldassare Castiglione. The *Libro del Cortigiano* had been first published in 1528, and reached England relatively quickly; in a letter of 1530 the Bishop of London asked to borrow Thomas Cromwell's copy of the original edition,[81] and it became widely available in England following the publication of Thomas Hoby's translation in 1561.[82] In the subsequent years Della Casa's *Galateo* was translated by Peterson in 1576, Guazzo's *Civile conversatione* was translated by Pettie-Young between 1581 and 1586, Romei's *Discorsi* was translated by Kepers as *The Courtier's Academy* in 1598, and Giraldi Cinthio's *Discourse of Civil Life* was translated by Bryskett *c*. 1582, although it was not published until 1606.[83] The success of these works was partly responsible for increasing the interest in learning Italian amongst the English. The dedication of John Florio's Italian dictionary *A Worlde of Wordes*, 1598, justified the importance of his work because without it:

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[80] R. Ascham, *The Schoolmaster (1570)*, L. Ryan, ed., (New York, 1967), p. 63; G. Parks, 'The First Italianate Englishman', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961), pp. 197-216. Parks discusses the origins of term 'Italianate'.

[81] Cecil Grayson, 'Thomas Hoby e Castiglione in Inghilterra', p.138.

[82] B. Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio Divided into Foure Books*, trans. T. Hoby (London, 1561). The popularity of Castiglione's work was not restricted to England, for its spread across Europe see P. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortigiano* (London, 1995), pp. 158-62. Between 1528 and 1619 almost sixty editions of the text were published in languages other than Italian.

[83] J. Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy* (New York, 1964), p. 18.

> How shall the English Gentleman come to the perfect understanding of Federico Grisone, his Arte del Cavalcare, who is so full of strange phrases, and unusual words, peculiar onely to horse-manship, and proper but to Cavalarizzi?[84]

The popularity of these manuals suggests that 'the image of the Italian, lacking his more scandalous traits, when seen within the ideal frame provided by such treatises, was one in which the Elizabethan was pleased to recognise as reflection of his own better self'.[85] This seems to have been particularly true of Elizabeth herself; in discussion with the Duke of Württemberg's agent in 1564 she stated that she liked 'the manners and customs of the Italians better than those of all the rest of the world'.[86] It also seems that this notion of the 'manner' of Italians was well established in England. In July 1578, whilst staying at Audley End during her summer progress, Elizabeth was introduced to the scholar Gabriel Harvey and commented that he looked Italian, which inspired him to write the poem *De Vultu Itali*, on the countenance of the Italians.[87] Harvey's enthusiasm was, however, criticised by Thomas Nashe many years later; Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron Waldon*, published in 1596, offers an interesting counterbalance and illustrates the potential for ridicule that was offered by the 'Italianate' Englishman. Nashe wrote that Harvey was wearing a 'suit of velvet' at his meeting with the queen, and had been described by others as looking like 'an usher of a dancing-school' and when described as looking 'Italian' by Elizabeth, Nashe explained how:

> No other incitement he needed to rouze his plumes pricke up his eares, and run away with the bridle betwixt his teeth ... and quite renounst his naturall English accents & gestures, & wrested himselfe wholy to the Italian *puntilios*, speaking our homely Island tongue strangely, as if he were but a raw practitioner in it, & but ten daies before had entertained a schoole-master to teach him to pronounce it...[88]

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[84] J. Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, 1598* (Reprinted New York, 1972).

[85] Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image*, p. 18.

[86] Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 194.

[87] J. Scott-Warren, 'Harvey, Gabriel', *ODNB*, pp. 655-8.

[88] R. McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1958), III, pp. 73, 92, 76. For a brief outline of Nashe and Harvey's quarrel see Scott-Warren, 'Harvey, Gabriel, pp. 656-7 and C. Nicholl, 'Nashe, Thomas', *ODNB*, pp. 237-43.

This fashion for adopting the manners and dress of Italy was not only criticised when it was taken to such extremes. To many Protestants the etiquette books 'tend not so much to corrupt honest living as they do to subvert true religion'.[89] In *The Schoolmaster* of 1570, Ascham elaborated further, describing:

> the speedy enchantments Circe brought out of Italy to mar men's manners in England: much by example of ill life but more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles the sooner to corrupt honest manners, dedicated overboldly to virtuous and honourable personages, the easier to beguile simple and innocent wits.[90]

The popularity of etiquette manuals in England increased during the same period in which travellers' accounts of Italy were being published. Ascham himself had spent nine days on the peninsula, visiting Venice during a journey on the continent, and this was enough to cement his poor opinion of the region.[91] Perhaps the most influential of these accounts in terms of disseminating information about Italian society was William Thomas' *History of Italy* of 1549, written following three years in Italy in which the author visited Venice, Florence, Bologna, Rome, Naples, Genoa, Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino.[92] In a similar manner to the etiquette manuals, these works provide information about the conflict at the heart of the English impression of Italy – the contrast between the humanist image of Italy as the cradle of sophisticated Renaissance culture that reawakened the glories of classical antiquity and was the home of the ideal courtier, and the image of Italy as the seat of the Papacy and the decadent home of seduction,

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[89] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, p. 68.

[90] *Ibid*., pp. 67, 55. It must be noted that Ascham did have a favourable opinion of Castiglione's *Il Cortigiano*, which he believed 'would do a young gentleman more good, iwis, than three years travel abroad spent in Italy.'

[91] *Ibid*., p. 72: 'I was once in Italy myself, but, I thank God, my abode there was but nine days. And yet I saw in that little time, in one city, more liberty to sin than ever I heard tell of in our noble city of London in nine year'.

[92] Thomas, *The History of Italy*, p. x.

violence and treachery.[93] This duality was possible because the 'idea' of Italy was flexible during this period; its fragmented geo-political nature allowed it to encompass elements that ranged from the magnificence of the Duchy of Milan, to the spiritual authority, or degradation, of the Holy See. This divergent setting also included Rome's imperial legacy, Venice's self-presentation as the ideal republic, and Naples' dominion by Spain. Through books, travel, and interaction with Italians in England, the English knew of these geo-political divisions and yet, on occasion, chose to group the whole peninsula together in order to make broader statements about 'Italy', which suggests that as a term it was readily comprehensible to an English audience. This incongruity arose in part from the fact that 'speakers or readers of Italian, indeed any appropriation of an element of Italian culture, entered into an imagined relationship with a "nation" that, apart from its language and the culture that gave it a transmissible form, did not, in fact, exist'.[94] With this in mind it is notable that William Thomas published the *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer* a year after his *History of Italy*, thus offering the English reader knowledge of the language to complement his earlier work on the geography and history of the region.[95] Grouping together the disparate elements of the peninsula, coupled with the inherent conflict at the heart of the English impression of Italy, allowed Italy to act 'as enchanter and ideological foil' to the English imagination,[96] which perhaps accounts for the fear that exposure to its culture could easily turn the young Englishman into an 'Inglese italianato'.

Polidoro Virgili, Polydore Vergil in the English tradition, provides an interesting example with which to demonstrate the development of the dual nature of Italy in the English mind. He had come to England in 1501 as a deputy collector of Peter's pence, and in the dedication of his *Anglica Historia* to Henry VIII - a history of England that the Brescian had been commissioned to write by Henry VII - Vergili wrote: 'I hope it will be to my advantage that I write as an Italian, and relate everything with

[93] Pfister, 'Shakespeare and Italy', p. 298.

[94] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 138.

[95] W. Thomas, *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer* (London, 1550).

[96] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 19.

truthfulness'.[97] He stressed his Italian identity in order to demonstrate his suitability for the task and his skill, for the writing of such works was an innovation that had been developed on the Italian peninsula.[98] However, by 1544 John Leland attacked him in the *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturi* by scornfully calling him 'Polydoro Italo' who was full of Italian bitterness.[99] Leland was not alone; John Bale wrote in his *Scriptures* that Vergil had 'deformed his writings greatly, polluting our English Chronicles most shamefully with his Romish lies and other Italish beggarys' and a contemporary scribbled in the margin of his copy of this work: 'Polydorus Vergilius - that most rascall dogge knave in the world, an Englyshman by byrth, but he had Italian parents'.[100]

These are the issues that are further contextualised by the study of Italian material culture in England during the sixteenth century. As the term 'Italian' came to carry associations as a character trait there was a parallel association of Italians with technical expertise. It is important to note that this was not necessarily vocalised to the same extent, but it is evident in the practice of people's lives – through the purchase of items that were differentiated by their place of manufacture, such as 'Venice' glass, and through the recruitment of individuals for specific commissions and with the intention of developing the English production of certain items. These objects played a role in defining what the term 'Italian' signified in England. For Henry VII the fact that the set of copes that he had commissioned for Westminster Abbey was made 'at Florence in Ittalie' was something to be highlighted and recorded. It seems that this stemmed from

[97] D. Hay, *Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* (Oxford, 1952), p. 153. This point is only found in the manuscript dedication of the text: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codices Urbinates Latini 497 and 498, dated to 1512-13.

[98] The association of Italians with the process of writing history continued well into the sixteenth century. Thomas Blundeville dedicated his *The True Order and Methode of Wryting and Reading Hystories, according to the precepts of Francisco Patricio, and Acontio Tridentino, two Italian writers* to the Earl of Leicester in 1574.

[99] Hay, *Polydore Vergil*, p. 158. English scholars disliked Virgili's work for its rejection of the roles of King Arthur, and also of Brutus the Trojan, who provided a connection, via Aeneas, with the Romans, in the narrative of the origins of the nation. J. Leland, 'Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii', in W. Mead, ed., *The Famous Historie of Chinon of England* (London, 1925), p. 122: 'Agit ille causam Arturii, sed patronus interim tam languens, tepidus, & remissus, ut mihi non risum modo, verum etiam stomachum, dum falsus, & Italo persusus aceto nescio an rideat, an stomachetur.'

[100] Hay, *Polydore Vergil*, pp. 158-9; H. Christmas, ed., *Select Works of John Bale* (Cambridge, 1849), p.8; C. Hopper, 'Queen Katherine Parr: Polydore Virgil', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, 4 (1857), p. 67.

an interest in technical excellence, and it is this notion that runs through many of the acquisitions of Italian material culture that were made by the Tudors. It is also something that connects the careers of many of the Italian individuals who carved out a position within the environment of the English court. These individuals were not only the agents for the transmission of material culture into the hands of the Tudor monarchs, but also agents for the transmission of an alternate idea of 'Italy'.

Chapter 1
Italians in the Household

In discussion with the agent of the Duke of Württemberg in 1564 about the marriage suit of Charles, Archduke of Austria, Queen Elizabeth was pleased to hear that the archduke had manners that were equal to the Italians, because those were her favourite - she considered herself to be 'as it were, half Italian'.[1] This was a subtly different sentiment to that expressed by Henry VIII in 1531 when Mario Savorgnano reported that he was 'glad to see foreigners, and especially Italians'.[2] It suggests that during the course of the Tudor period the customs of Italy became something of which an English monarch could take possession. Elizabeth was not alone; when Girolamo Cardano described the English in his 1562 *Dialogus de Morte* he wrote that:

> I wondered much, especially when I was in England, and rode about on horseback in the neighbourhood of London, for I seemed to be in Italy. When I looked among those groups of English sitting together, I completely thought myself to be among Italians; they were like, as I said, in figure, manners, dress, gesture, colour.[3]

As has been noted, Italian etiquette manuals were hugely popular in England which had lead to widespread imitation of the 'manner' of the Italians. However, these books were not the only means by which the Tudor monarchs came to learn about the geography and language of a region that they never visited. A key role was played by the Italians with whom they would have personally interacted. The cumulative effect of these individual interactions formed a crucial part of a larger traffic between England and Italy and provides insight into the context for the reception of Italian material culture in

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[1] Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 195. Elizabeth's comment was recorded in Ahasverus Alliga's report from London in January 1564.

[2] *CSPV*, IV.682.

[3] Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners*, p. l; G. Cardano, 'Dialogus de Morte' in *Somniorum Synesiorum Omnis Generis Insomnioa Explicantes*, IIII (Basel, 1562), p. 373: 'Et mirabar, praesertim cum in Anglia essem, ubi regionem prope Londinum inequitarem, in Italia esse videbar: ubi ipsos Anglos una sedentes inspicerem, inter Italos omnino me esse putabam forma, ut dixi, moribus, habitu, gestu, colore'.

England. It was also these individuals who were most often the agents for the transmission of that material culture to England, and the fact that they were considered to be part of a community, at least in the minds of the English, allows for objects from across Italy to be considered within a broad study.

At the end of the sixteenth century increased mobility allowed pilgrims, students, diplomats, merchants, mercenaries, artisans and itinerant intellectuals to cross the continent and become instruments of cultural exchange.[4] Tracing those individuals who travelled from Italy to England, and the connections between them, reveals 'unexpected and novel associations among sites and social context'.[5] Focusing on the Italians who travelled to England, rather than the English who went to Italy as merchants, students and diplomats, allows for analysis of the direct personal contact that the Tudor monarchs had with Italians which may have affected their response to Italian material culture. Furthermore, the 'life histories' of these individuals suggest that for all the fragmentation of the peninsula there was an 'Italian community' that interacted with the Tudor court, and it was this that played a role in shaping, not only the English understanding of Italy and Italians, but also the circulation of Italian material culture.[6] For example, merchants brought artisans to England to execute specific commissions

[4] Roeck, 'Venice and Germany', p. 45.

[5] D. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (London, 2007), p. 256. The application of ethnographic methodology to a historical study is not unproblematic but Harkness explores the means by which such a study could be undertaken in the methodology section at the end of her book. See also G. Marcus, *Ethnography Through Thick and Thin* (Princeton, 1998), pp. 94, 187-9. Marcus discusses the position of 'messy texts' which 'confront the problem that ethnography, which is centrally interested in the creativity of social action through imagination, narrativity, and performance, has usually been produced through an analytic imagination that is both comparatively impoverished and far too restrictive'. Of particular interest to this study is the idea that 'in messy texts, there is a sense of a whole, without an evocation of totality, that emerges from the research process itself' and that 'messy texts are messy because they insist on their own open-endedness, incompleteness, and uncertainty about how to draw a text/analysis to a close'.

[6] M. Fischer, 'The Uses of Life Histories', *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly*, 16.1 (1991), pp. 24-7. Fischer notes that 'accounts of self or life histories ... are particularly useful as *sites of access* to constellations of (1) cultural models, (2) discourses/critical apparatuses, and (3) new self-fashionings.' Within this last category 'perhaps the most important use of life histories ... is the strategic use of a life frame that straddles major social and cultural transformations ... drawing on interlinguistic as well as intercultural differences in order to remake new, culturally fuller individuals and social actors.'

and to import skills to England.[7] They also provided financial support to diplomats through their European trading partners, and housed ambassadors in London.[8] Mercenaries too could stay with merchants,[9] and carry gifts from individuals on the Italian peninsula to England.[10] The records from the Italian church in England reveal that Elizabeth's Venetian musicians associated with the Venetian glassmakers who worked in London.[11] Some items were produced as a result of these connections. Iacopo Aconcio's *Una essortione al timor di Dio* was edited by Giovan Battista Castiglione after Aconcio's death and dedicated to Elizabeth; it was the first Italian book to be published by John Wolfe and the dedication made reference to Wolfe's recent return from Italy where he had learnt the art of printing.[12] Castiglione also communicated with Tommasso Baroncelli in Antwerp in order to facilitate Robert Dudley's purchase of armour from an engraver, 'Eliseres Libertes', who appears to have been Florentine.[13] This is not to suggest that the Italians formed a closed group, for they interacted both with the English and with the other alien communities in England. It is also notable that they tended to associate in groups that reflected the divisions of the Italian peninsula: as Venetians, Genoese or Florentines. However, tracing individuals across a wide variety of areas also demonstrates that the break with Rome did not rupture the connections between England and Italy. The 'Italian community' in England was diverse enough to

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[7] See Chapter 5.

[8] C. Sicca, 'Consumption and Trade of Art Between Italy and England in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: The London House of the Bardi and Cavalcandi Company', *Renaissance Studies*, 16.2 (2002), pp. 186-7. The London house of the Cavalcanti and Bardi was used to host emissaries from Rome.

[9] ASLu, Consiglio Generale, v. 57, f. 66. Nicolao Franciotti stayed with the merchant Acerbo Velutelli in London in 1570. For Franciotti's military career see S. Adorni Braccesi, 'Franciotti, Nicolao', *DBI*, pp. 163-5.

[10] *L&P*, XXI.i.1482. Filippo Pini brought Niccolò Tartaglia's gift of a book dedicated to Henry VIII to England, see Chapter 3.

[11] L. Firpo, 'La Chiesa Italiana di Londra nel Cinquecento', in D. Cantimori, L. Firpo, G. Spini, F. Venturi, and V. Vinay, eds., *Ginevra e l'Italia* (Florence, 1959), p. 376. Ambrose Lupo was called to speak on a case which also involved Jacomo Verzelini. J. Nichols, ed., *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (London, 1823), I, p. 381. Ambrose Lupo gave the Queen 'oone drinking glasse guilt, withoute a cover, with the Queen's armes in the bottom, in a case of printed lether' as a New Year's Gift in 1574.

[12] I. Aconcio, *Una essortatione al timor di Dio* (London, 1579?), p. 5: 'un giovane di questa Città venuto di nuovo d'Italia, ou'ha con molta industria appreso l'arte de lo Stampare'.

[13] *CSPF*, 1564-5, 1064, 1791.

reflect the many identities of the Italian peninsula and thus was flexible enough to respond to changes in trade, diplomacy and religion, and maintain a presence at the highest levels of the court throughout the Tudor period.

In an examination of the Tudor monarchs' interaction with Italy it is first necessary to explore the position of Italians as a migrant community in England, and particularly in London.[14] The period covered by the Tudor monarchs was one of great population change, particularly in the south-east of England where the court was situated. London's population quadrupled during the sixteenth century: from approximately 50,000 in 1500, to 80,000 in 1550, and 200,000 in 1600.[15] Much of this change was due to an influx of people, 'foreigners' from the English provinces and 'aliens' or 'strangers' from outside England.[16] The immigrant communities made up less than 1% of the national population even when at their peak,[17] but they still exerted a powerful influence in the areas in which they congregated. Amongst the alien communities the Italians constituted a very small group; far more numerous were the migrants from France and the Low Countries. Using the information collated by Kirk and Kirk on the Returns of Aliens, Luu has been able to extract percentages relating to the details of the alien communities in London; for example in 1571 there were 63 Italians who accounted for 3.8% of the total, compared to 1102, that is 61%, from Dutch/Flemish/German speaking areas, and 367, that is 20%, from French-speaking areas.[18] The Returns also show that

[14] D. Keene, 'Cities and Cultural Exchange' in D. Calabi and S. Christensen, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, II: *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 14. Keene discusses the overlap between the culture of the court and that of the city.

[15] N. Goose and L. Luu, *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart London* (Brighton, 2005), p. 13.

[16] *Ibid*., p. 78.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 29.

[18] L. Luu, 'Skills and Innovations: A Study of the Stranger Working Community in London, 1550-1600', PhD Thesis (University of London, 1997), p. 85; Kirk, R., and E. Kirk, eds., 'Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I', 4 vols., *Huguenot Society of London*, 10 (Aberdeen, 1900-8). The returns were commissioned in response to increased anxiety about the alien community within London, and represent an attempt to identify a specific section of the population and record their homes, jobs and religious position. They are to be used with caution because the English officials were often not familiar with foreign languages, which resulted in a range of spellings that make it hard to trace individuals, and the returns were often ordered at times of tension between the alien community and Londoners, which could also affect their accuracy.

the Italian community was declining during the second half of the century, and in the Return of 1593 there were only 34 individuals who came from the Italian peninsula.[19] Aliens were subject to numerous restrictions relating to the ownership of property and inheritance, and were also taxed at a different rate to the English. They could be ordered to leave the country at any time, as happened in 1541, when French aliens were specifically targeted, and in 1554 when 'seditious' aliens were ordered to be deported.[20] However, such restrictions often included the crucial caveat that 'all strangers in the service of the King, the Queen, my Lord Prince, or any of the Kings other children ... shall remain as long as they shall be in such service'.[21] Aliens did have the option of taking out letters of denization, which were granted by the Crown and could often provide protection against expulsion from the realm, as well as allowing the holder to bequeath real estate to children born in the British Isles after the acquisition of the grant, although they still had to pay double the rate of the Lay Subsidy.[22] Such letters were, however, as the Imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys noted in 1544, a mere matter of convenience which in no way compromised national allegiances.[23] Aliens could also become naturalised subjects by special acts of parliament, and the key distinction between such individuals and a denizen was that they could inherit and pass on property to their children wherever they had been born.[24] The records of letters of denization and acts of naturalisation provide further evidence of the relative statistical insignificance of the Italian community: of the 6911 people who became denizens or naturalised citizens between 1509 and 1602, only 108 were from Italy, and none of these were taken out between 1586 and 1602.[25] However, it was a community that had numerous connections with the court, which increased its prominence.

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[19] I. Scouloudi, 'Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639: A Study of an Active Minority', *Huguenot Society of London*, Quarto Series, 57 (1985), p. 85.

[20] P. Hughes and J. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols. (New Haven and London, 1964-69), I, pp. 326-7 and II, pp. 31-2.

[21] *SR*, III, 32 Hen VIII, c.16; *L&P*, XVI.9. The application of the statute 'Concerning Strangers' was tempered by an act from the Privy Council.

[22] Scouloudi, 'Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis', p. 17.

[23] M. Bratchel, 'Regulation and Group-Consciousness in the Later History of London's Italian Merchant Colonies', *Journal of European Economic History*, 9.3 (1980), p. 595; TNA, PRO31/18/3/2, f. 8.

[24] Goose and Luu, *Immigrants*, p. 60.

[25] W. Page, 'Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England 1509-1603', *Huguenot Society of London*, Quarto Series, 8 (1893), pp. lii-iii.

Apart from visiting churchmen,[26] it was the Italian merchant community that created the longest standing connections between England and Italy, and it was from the merchants that the Tudor monarchs were able to learn much about the peninsula. Merchants often served as cross-cultural brokers by leaving their home community and going to live as aliens in another area, learning the language, the customs, and the commercial ways of their hosts in order to encourage trade.[27] It is notable that whilst John Florio's language instruction manual, *First Fruites,* was dedicated to Robert Dudley and thus aimed at an English audience, it was also intended for 'all the Italian gentlemen and merchants who delight in the English language'.[28] It therefore included, along with lists of proverbs and 'wittie sentences', a section of rules for Italians to learn English, including information on the correct pronunciation of certain words such as 'velvet'.[29] That this book was useful to merchants, and to those who wished to interact with them, is evident in the fact that in the vocabulary the first terms to be listed after numbers and parts of the body are words that relate to trade, such as 'merchant', 'broker', 'factor' and 'cashier'.[30]

The Italian merchant colonies were arranged into 'nations' under consular jurisdiction and it was from these distinctions that the English were able to form a clear idea of the fragmented nature of the Italian peninsula; analysis of the returns of the subsidies on alien merchants granted during the reign of Henry VI reveals that they were divided into Lombards, Florentines, Genoese, Lucchese, Milanese, Venetians, Hanseatic, and Catalonians.[31] The strength of the corporate identity of these different groups was in

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[26] These individuals will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

[27] P. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 2.

[28] J. Florio, *Florio's First Fruites: Facsimile Reproduction of the Original Edition (London, 1578)* (Formosa, 1936), p. 12: 'A tutti i Gentilhuomini, e Mercanti Italiani, che si dilettano de la lingua Inglese'.

[29] *Ibid*., pp. 235-41.

[30] *Ibid*., pp. 227-9. However, the increasing popularity of Italian in England meant that many did not need to learn English in order to work in England, as is demonstrated by the fact that much of their correspondence with the court was conducted in Italian, for example *CSPF*, 1582, 212 - Horatio Palavicino to Francis Walsingham.

[31] M. Giuseppe, 'Alien Merchants in England in the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 9 (1895), p.96.

part due to the fact that many of the individuals involved were young patricians.[32] The position of Italian merchants in England was also relatively consistent, and even though the closure of the London branch of the Medici bank in 1478 has in the past been viewed as the sign of the end of Italian mercantile activity in England, in reality there was a continued Italian presence.[33] They were clearly high profile enough for Richard III to try to court favour with the English by imposing higher rates on them, and following a petition by the merchants the revocation of this statute was one of Henry VII's first acts on becoming king.[34] In 1488 Italian merchants were again released from the payment of certain subsidies,[35] and to a certain extent this reveals the Tudors' favourable disposition towards Italian mercantile activity, which continued throughout the sixteenth century. It has been noted that 'Reformation politics seem to have caused no more than occasional difficulties to Italian merchants resident in England' because they were viewed as valued guests, and in the enforcement of legislation the Privy Council drew a clear distinction between the community of resident aliens and those alien merchants who were sojourning in the realm.[36]

The merchant colonies have been described as 'communities of bachelor uncles, with a constant infusion of younger men at the beginning of their commercial and political careers'.[37] They were thus not a self-perpetuating group and relied on continuous

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[32] M. Bratchel, 'Alien Merchant Colonies in Sixteenth-Century England: Community Organisation and Social Mores', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 14.1 (1984), p. 55.

[33] M. Bratchel, 'Italian Merchant Organisation and Business Relationships in Early Tudor London', *Journal of European Economic History*, 7.1 (1978), p. 5. Bratchel comments on A. Sapori, *Studi di storia economica, secoli XIII-XIV-XV*, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Florence, 1956), II, p. 1070.

[34] *SR*, II, 1Richard III, c.9: An Act Touching the Merchants of Italy, who are listed as 'Venicians Janueys Florentynes Apuleyns Cicilians Lucaners Cateloyns and other of the same Nacion'; *SR*, II, 1 Henry VII, c.10.

[35] T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventions, litterae et cujus-que generis acta publica ... ab anno 1101 ad nostra usque tempora* (The Hague, 1739-45), H.V.iii.188.

[36] Bratchel, 'Regulation and Group-Consciousness', p. 604; *L&P,* XIX.i.6. The favoured status of merchants can be seen in the fact that it was thought fit to arrest the Milanese surgeon Balthasar Guercius for questioning the king's supremacy because he was a naturalised Englishman, had lived in England for 20 years, and was married to an Englishwoman, whilst at the same time stressing that 'we use no inquisitions, as they do in the Emperor's dominions, to search what strangers think; for if we did, a great sort of the merchant strangers here would be brought to trouble'.

[37] Bratchel, 'Regulation and Group-Consciousness', p. 593.

interchange with other colonies in trading cities such as Antwerp and with the cities of the Italian peninsula, which 'would have maintained the immediacy of continental culture and ideology' within the community working in England.[38] The nations were relatively self-contained. For example, the sixteenth-century statutes of the Florentine nation in England granted to the consul and his advisors jurisdiction over disputes and civil cases between Florentines and forbade appeals to the English authorities, and similar restrictions were placed on Venetian litigiousness.[39]

Bratchell's work has shown that the Italian mercantile community of early Tudor London consisted of perhaps seventy individuals who represented some of the most powerful Italian merchant families.[40] In the early years of Henry VII's reign the Florentine Girolamo Frescobaldi was represented in England by two factors: Lorenzo Barducci and the Bolognese Lodovico della Fava. Early in Henry VIII's reign Girolamo's son Leonardo began to act on behalf of the Frescobaldi in England, often in partnership with the Lucchese merchant Antonio Cavallari, and remained with his brother Francesco in England after the bankruptcy of the Frescobaldi firm in 1518; Leonardo died in England in Sept 1529 and Francesco returned to Florence soon after.[41] After the failure of the Frescobaldi company, the most important Italian firm in London was that of the Bonvisi of Lucca.[42] Under Henry VII there were three Bonvisi brothers in London: Lorenzo, Girolamo and Nicolao**,** and a cousin, Antonio Bonvisi, whose nephew Benedetto came to London later.[43] There was also the Florentine company of Giovanni Cavalcanti and Pier Francesco de' Bardi, for whom Antonio Carsidoni occasionally acted as clerk and factor. [44] Guido Cavalcanti, the son of Giovanni, entered into business with his brother, Estriota, in the 1540s, importing jewels, furs and silks.[45] However, ultimately the Crown found it easier to borrow in Flanders and the Cavalcanti

[38] D. Gaimster and P. Stamper, *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600* (Oxford, 1997), p. 172.

[39] Bratchel, 'Alien Merchant Colonies', p. 44.

[40] Bratchel, 'Italian Merchant Organisation', p. 6.

[41] *Ibid*., pp. 10, 12.

[42] *Ibid*., p. 12.

[43] *Ibid*., p. 15; *L&P,* XX.ii.596.

[44] Bratchel, 'Italian Merchant Organisation', p. 23; *L&P,* IV.iii.6748 (13).

[45] *Foedera,* H.vi.p.iii.140.

house faded from view; by 1568 it had been dissolved.[46] The Grimaldi of Genoa were represented in England successively by Ludovico, his son Giovanni Battista, and Francesco, who was in the service of Katherine of Aragon and married one of her servants.[47]

By contrast, the prominent Venetian merchants were usually represented in London by junior partners, or by employees who were not family members of the parent company; for example, the Pisani were represented in England by Niccolò Duodo.[48] However, this was not always the case - Giacomo Ragazzoni was sent from Venice to England by his father in 1542 at the age of 14 in order to manage the family's business importing currants from Cyprus, and was supervised by Jacomo Foscarini. He remained in England for sixteen years, only leaving in order to become head of the family's commercial interests. He was replaced by his brother Placido, who became a favourite merchant of Elizabeth and vice consul of the Venetian merchant community.[49]

It has been noted that many of the leading bankers at the accession of Elizabeth were Italians.[50] Amongst these prominent merchants was the Genoese Benedetto Spinola, who often imported wine.[51] The 1559 subsidy assessments for London rated 'Benedict Spinola and his company' as one of the eight richest taxpayers in the city,[52] and the Spanish ambassador reported in 1564 that Spinola was close to the Queen's favourite, Robert Dudley,[53] for whom he acted as a banker.[54] He was closely involved with the

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[46] F. Levey, 'A Semi-Professional Diplomat: Giovanni Cavalcanti and the Marriage Negotiations of 1571', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 35 (1962), p. 213.

[47] Bratchel, 'Italian Merchant Organisation', p. 16.

[48] *Ibid*., p. 23; *CSPV*, II.1287, p. 562.

[49] B. De Maria, *Becoming Venetian: Immigrants and the Arts in Early Modern Venice* (New Haven and London, 2010), pp. 33-9.

[50] M. Bratchel, 'Germain Cioll, Sixteenth-Century London Merchant: A Biographical Note', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 56.133 (1983), p. 115.

[51] B. Dietz, ed., 'The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London', *The London Record Society*, 8 (1972), pp. 10, 71, 77, 111, 112 and 122.

[52] G. Ramsay, 'The Undoing of the Italian Mercantile Colony in Sixteenth-Century London' in N. Harte and K. Ponting, eds., *Textile History and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann* (Manchester, 1973), p. 41.

[53] *CSPS*, I, p. 385.

other prominent Genoese financier who was active in London, Sir Horatio Palavicino.[55] There was also the Lucchese Acerbo Velutelli, who was granted the lucrative monopoly over the import of oil and currants in November 1575.[56] In the terms of sales to the monarch the advantage held by many of these Italian merchants over their English counterparts was that in Italy the position of a merchant was very different to that in England, and many of them had a semi-aristocratic background that allowed them to circulate more naturally in the society of princes, courtiers, and ambassadors.[57]

Nonetheless, it is evident that during the course of the sixteenth century the number of Italian merchants declined; in 1571 of the 184 aliens who were involved in mercantile activities, only nine were from the Italian peninsula.[58] This has in part been explained by the reduction in the numbers of young men who were willing to travel to England as the shift occurred in Italy from business enterprise to landed investment.[59] At the same time it became cheaper to maintain a central establishment in a mainland continental trading hub such as Antwerp and to use commission agents for trade in London.[60] Also, whilst the medieval sea trade between England and Italy had been almost entirely in Italian hands, as the sixteenth century progressed English merchant ships began to penetrate further into the Mediterranean, whilst Italian shipping became increasingly occupied by conflict with the Turks.[61]

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[54] Ramsay, 'The Undoing of the Italian Mercantile Colony', p. 43.

[55] B. Hall, 'Italian Financiers of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, With Special Reference to Pallavicino and Spinola', MSc Thesis (University of London, 1927); Stone, *An Elizabethan*, p. xiii: Horatio, presumably christened Orazio, always signed his name with one 'l' in contrast to the Italian branch of the family which usually used two 'l's.

[56] *CPR*, 1572-5, 2215; M. Fusaro, *Uva passa: una guerra commerciale tra Venezia e l'Inghilterra (1540-1640)* (Venice, 1996), p. 20. In 1582 Velutelli's privilege was revoked due to pressure from the English merchants who were operating in the Mediterranean because their business had been damaged, both by Velutelli's monopoly and by the countermeasures taken by the Venetians, such as raising their import duties on English goods as well as on currants, wine and oil.

[57] Stone, *An Elizabethan*, p. 7.

[58] Goose and Luu, *Immigrants*, p. 66.

[59] Bratchel, 'Regulation and Group-Consciousness', p. 607.

[60] Bratchel, 'Italian Merchant Organisation', p. 29.

[61] Ramsay, 'The Undoing of the Italian Mercantile Colony', p. 37. From 1569 direct trade between England and Venice tapered off because war with the Turks meant that the Venetians needed all their

The disruption of the Reformation also had an effect. The majority of the Italian merchant community worshipped at the Augustinian Friary, 'Austin Friars'.[62] This was located in the Broad Street ward in the heart of the city, and its imposing tall tiered spire can be seen near the centre of the *London Bridge* sheet of Wyngaerde's 1554 *Panorama of London* (Fig. 15). The friary experienced a drawn-out dissolution that began in about 1532 when Thomas Cromwell started to acquire friary property with a view to constructing his own house.[63] On 6 May 1542 Leonardo Centurione, the Genoese consul in London, following an enquiry by the Genoese authorities,[64] reported that they had removed, and were prepared to ship out of England, the cloths that had ornamented

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ships. Hence Innocent Lucatelli, who was the leading Venetian merchant in the city in 1565, went bankrupt in 1570.

[62] D. Calabi and D. Keane, 'Merchants' Lodgings and Cultural Exchange', in D. Calabi and S. Christensen, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, II: *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 317. On the choice of Austin Friars: 'as international orders present in most large towns, friaries were already familiar to wealthy merchants from distant cities, and they stood outside the closed neighbourhood associations of parish churches'. S. Thrupp, 'Aliens In and Around London in the Fifteenth Century', in A. Hollaender and W. Kellaway, eds., *Studies in London History presented to Philip Edmund Jones* (London, 1969), pp. 261-3. Of nineteen wills made by Italians who died in London between 1417 and 1492, fourteen provided for burial at Austin Friars. See also Sicca, 'Consumption and Trade of Art', p. 187. In 1526 Giovanni Cavalcanti, acting on behalf of the Florentine consulate, commissioned from Toto del Nunziata a tabernacle 'per il San Giovanni', which was not completed but was probably the altarpiece for the chapel dedicated to Florence's patron saint at Austin Friars.

[63] For a full discussion of the friary see N. Holder, 'The Medieval Friaries of London: A Topographic and Archaeological History, Before and After the Dissolution', PhD Thesis (University of London, 2011), pp. 140-75.

[64] ASG, Senato Senarega, b. 408, no. 338.

Fig. 15: Antonis Van der Wyngaerde, *London Bridge*, sheet from the *Panorama of London*, pen and ink over indications in black chalk, 1554, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1950.206.7.

Fig. 16: *The Ship of the Romish Church*, woodcut from John Foxe, *The Ecclesiastical Historie, conteining the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs* (London, 1583), vol. II, p. 1294.

the church; this moment is evocative of the woodcut illustration entitled the 'Shippe of Romish Church' in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* which includes the text 'shippe over your trinckets And be packing you papists' (Fig. 16).[65] However, this did not mark the end of the Italian community in London for some took a pragmatic approach to the necessity of trading with those who held different religious sensibilities. In 1576 Acerbo Velutelli wrote to the Lucchese authorities on behalf of all the Lucchese merchants who were operating in London, explaining that although they tried to avoid doing business with heretics, ultimately such considerations stood beyond the practicalities of trading.[66] At the same time prominent individuals and visitors who were Catholic were allowed to hear mass at the foreign embassies.[67] However, this privilege did not go unchallenged; in November 1576 the violently anti-Catholic Recorder of London, William Fleetwood, forced his way into the Portuguese Embassy and, after removing the ambassador, his household, and the women who were present, proceeded to arrest the English and take the names of all the alien residents who were attending the Mass.[68] Amongst this latter group Fleetwood noticed 'a tal young Fellow, an Italian, that was very wanton with us', and he noted that the only reason for his, and others, presence in England was the sale

[65] ASG, Senato Senarega, b. 409, no. 72: 'da giorni in qua nella natione nostra ne altri frequentano piu la chiesa Di Santo agostino, per tenersi serrata, e per tal causa manchar di servirsi delle tapezzerie che per ornare li lochi In detta chiesa dove li genoesi sedeano si erano fatte ... se a quelle parra che se le mandino per via di mare si trova qui la nave Lerchara, quale partira per quelle parti fra brevi giorni et V.S. sarano In tempo de ordinare che si Carrecchino In detta nave'.

[66] R. Mazzei, 'I mercanti e la circolazione delle idée religiouse', in F. Francheschi, R. Goldthwaite, R. Mueller, eds., *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa*, IV: Commercio e cultura mercantile (Costabissara, 2007), p. 473; ASLu, Offizio sopra la religione, b. 5, f. 117: 'Circa poi al vietarci di non haver pratica et commercio, con li suspetti di heresia, le Signorie Vostre Illustrissime in questo haverano qualche considerassione al luoco ove ci troviamo, che volendo negociare non si puol mancare di haver alle volte a praticar con quelli che sappiamo non sono di effetto Cattolici, ma pero si fa con quel debito rispetto si conviene che questa pratica non consiste che nel vendere et comprare'.

[67] C. Barron, C. Coleman and C. Gobbi, eds., 'The London Journal of Alessandro Magno 1562', *The London Journal*, 9.2 (1983), p. 142. Magno recorded in his journal that 'if we wish to hear mass we go to the house of the Spanish or French ambassador. When they realize where we are going, the people look at us suspiciously, but they say nothing, and since the ambassadors are allowed to have it said, we are permitted to attend'.

[68] Stone, *An Elizabethan*, pp. 8-9.

of papal alum,[69] and because they were spies.[70] Other Italians chose to join Protestant congregations. Some sermons were delivered in Italian in the stranger churches during Edward VI's reign, but it was not until 1565, following a break during Mary's reign, that the Italian church was formally instituted. It met in the church of the Mercers' Company on Cheapside under the Sicilian pastor Girolamo Ferlito,[71] and when he died he was replaced in the summer of 1570 by Giovan Battista Aureli, from San Sisto in Calabria.[72] The Italian church attendance in London was much smaller than the Dutch or French; in 1568 there were 161 individuals, in 1571 92 individuals, and in 1593 29 individuals.[73] However, these numbers cannot be taken as an accurate representation of the Italian community because church attendance was not defined by nationality; some Flemish individuals attended the Italian Church and some Italians attended the English Church.[74]

The continued presence of Italian merchants as a high status group in London is most clearly evident in their involvement in city pageants. At Charles V's entry to London in 1522 the Italian merchants were amongst those requested to assist in the contributions,

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[69] Alum was a mordant used in the textile industry. In the fifteenth century large deposits were discovered in Tolfa which allowed the Papacy to gain a near monopoly over the trade in alum in Western Europe because it had previously only been available through trade with the Ottoman Turks.

[70] J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1824), II.2, p. 30: 'it hath been told me sithence that he and others are kept here for two Causes. The one for uttering the pope's allom; and the other to serve for intelligencer: which, I think, are very spies'; Stone, *An Elizabethan*, p. 9. It is likely that this was a young Horatio Palavicino.

[71] Page, 'Letters of Denization', p. xxxvi. In 1566 the Bishop of London recommended to the Mercers' company 'Jeronimus Farlitus', an Italian preacher, who desired to preach the gospel in the company's chapel beneath, on Sundays and holidays, to the Italians and other worthy personages of the realm who had the use of that time, to which the company assented; Calabi and Keane, 'Merchants' Lodgings', p. 346. The building had a long association with the Italian community and before the Reformation, when the church was called St. Thomas in Cheapside, the Lucchese merchants established their cult of the Volto Santo in a chapel of the church.

[72] Firpo, 'La chiesa Italiana di Londra', p. 355.

[73] Goose and Luu, *Immigrants*, p. 68.

[74] Firpo, 'La chiesa Italiana di Londra', p. 336; Kirk and Kirk, 'Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London', I, pp. 387-8: 'A list of the names of those which are of the Italian Churche, beinge borne in Flaunders and other places vnder the domynyon of the King of Spaine' taken in 1568; Scouloudi, 'Returns of Strangers', p. 160. The return of aliens in 1593 lists Innocent Coemes 'Italian from Venise; musician to the Queen's Majesty... Dwelt in England 15 years; no denizen; of the English Church'.

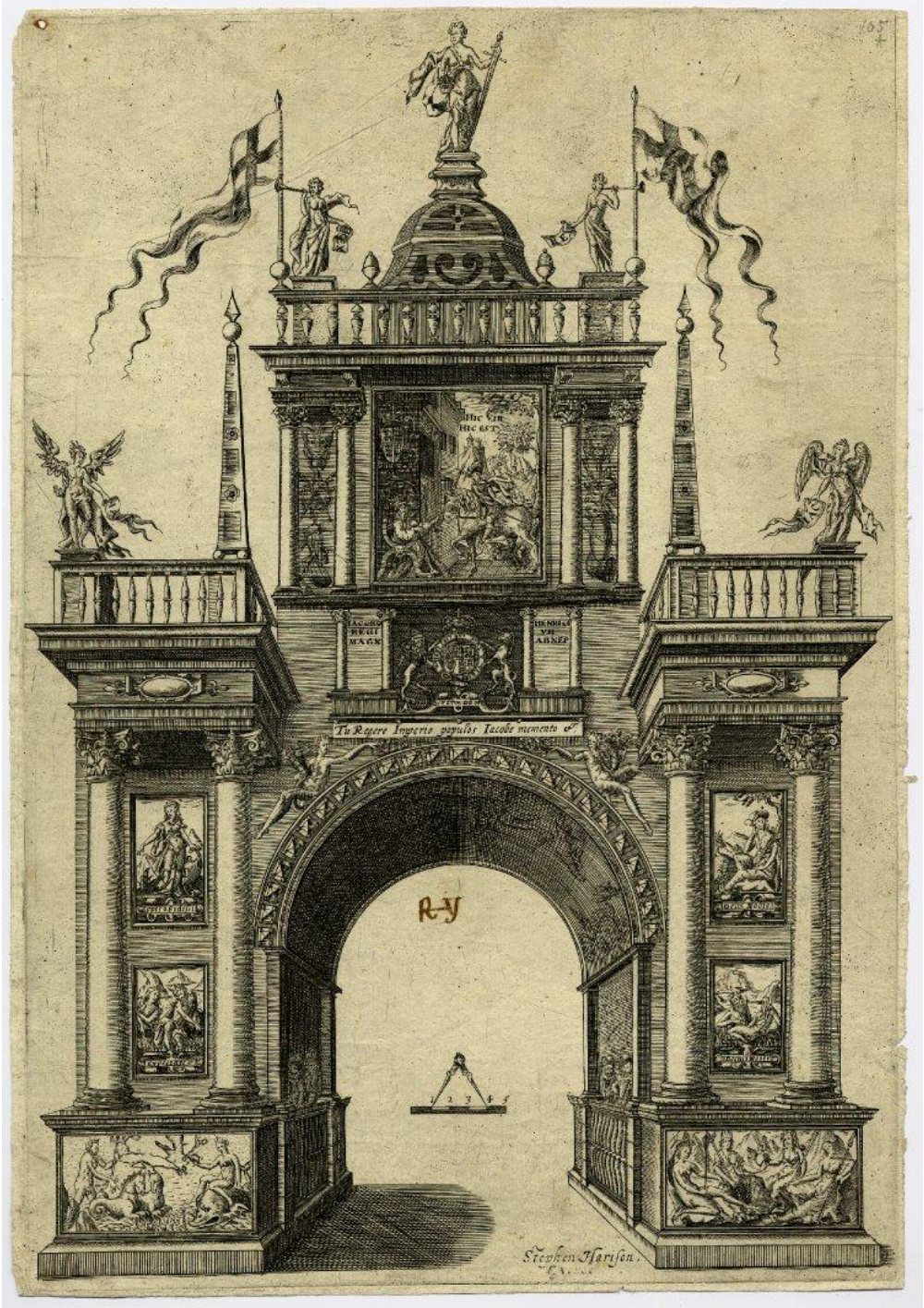

Fig. 17: Stephen Harrison, print by William Kip, The Italian Triumphal Arch from *The Arches of Triumph*, 1604, British Museum, 1981, U.3019.

and Antonio Vivaldi and ten companions agreed to make at their own cost a pageant at Leadenhall, which featured a genealogical tree that linked Charles V and Henry VIII to John of Gaunt.[75] Similarly, for Mary's procession to Westminster the Genoese erected a triumphal arch at Fenchurch St,[76] and the Florentines made one at the end of Gracechurch St.[77] It is not known who made the arches for Elizabeth's coronation, but it is notable that there was one at Gracechurch Street, where Italians were again responsible for one of the seven triumphal arches commissioned by the city for the coronation of James I (Fig. 17).[78]

An impression of the interaction between these merchants and the court can be gained from a variety of sources. A list of household goods from 1523 details the impressive luxury of the interior and contents of the house of Giovanni Cavalcanti in Throckmorton Street, and the fact that it also included rooms for young men learning the business such as Antonio Carsidoni.[79] Cavalcanti's house would have acted not only as a locus for Florentines who had recently arrived in the capital, but also as a site to show his luxury wares to members of the English court. Although the extensive level of Italian financing that occurred during the reign of Edward IV, and which contributed to the collapse of the Medici bank,[80] was not reached under the Tudor monarchs, bonds to the English Crown in the early years of Henry VIII's reign offer almost infinite combinations of the names of leading Florentine merchants.[81] Accordingly, such men were welcome at court, a fact that did not go unnoticed, and on occasion lead to resentment in the City. In 1517 the Venetian ambassador, Sebastiano Giustinian, reported the events of the May Day riots, noting that the Florentine, Lucchese, and Genoese merchants' houses had been targeted but that they were not attacked because they were well supplied with arms and artillery. He added that the Venetians were left alone because 'they have ever

[75] S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 194-5.

[76] *Ibid*., p. 319; G. Pollini, *L'historia ecclesiastica della rivoluzion d'Inghilterra* (Rome, 1594), pp. 307-8. Pollini includes a description of the arch.

[77] Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 320; Pollini, *L'historia ecclesiastica*, pp. 305-7. Pollini includes a description of the arch.

[78] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p 124.

[79] Sicca, 'Consumption and Trade of Art', pp. 175-6. See appendix for the inventory of the house pp. 188-201.

[80] R. De Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397-1494* (Cambridge, MA, 1963).

[81] Bratchel, 'Italian Merchant Organisation', p. 26.

comported themselves with so much equity and decorum, that there was no wishing to harm them', which illustrates an interesting level of differentiation between the groups of Italians by the citizens of London, although it could simply reflect Giustinian's natural Venetian bias.[82] What is particularly notable about this outbreak of xenophobia, from which the Italians emerged relatively unscathed, is that they were credited with a central role in the underlying causes; Hall's *Chronicle* linked the riot to the flaunting by the French and Genoese of their favour with the king which encouraged them to ignore the rules of the City.[83] He recounted that:

> the Sundaye after at Grenewiche in the kynges gallery was Fraunces de bard, whiche as you harde kept an Englishe mans wife and his goodes, and yet he could have no remedy, & with hym were Domyngo, Anthony Caveler, and many mo straungiers, and ther they, talkynge with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Iested and laughed howe that Fraunces kepte the Englishemans wife, saiynge that if they had the Mayres wife of London, they would kepe her: syr Thomas sayd, Sirs, you haue to muche fauour in England. There were diuerse Englishe merchauntes by, and harde them laugh, and were not content, in somuche as one William bolt a Mercer, sayd, wel, you whoreson Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh, by the masse we will one daye haue a daye at you, come when it will; and that saiynge the other merchauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the younge and euell disposed people sayde, they woulde be reuenged on the merchaunt straungiers, aswell as on the artificers straungiers.[84]

It is interesting to note the specific naming of the Florentine Francesco de Bardi and the Lucchese Antonio Cavallari, whilst 'Domyngo' could be the Genoese Domenico Lomelino, and the fact that they were all grouped together as 'whoreson Lombardes'.

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[82] R. Brown, trans. and ed., *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII: Selection of Dispatches Written by the Venetian Ambassador Sebastian Gustinian*, 2 vols. (London, 1854), II, pp. 70-1; *Sanuto*, 53, col. 171: Ludovico Falier reported from London in 1530 that some Englishmen 'solo specie di far certo zuogo con bastoni, veneno a le arme, si dice volevano amazar ... per il trar di le lane del paexe, che non hanno lavorar', so any special favouring of the Venetians was evidently only temporary.

[83] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 586.

[84] *Ibid*., pp. 587-8. This is a further example of the distinction that was drawn between resident alien artisans and visiting alien merchants.

This could be due to the general preponderance of Northern Italians in England but the term 'Lombard' could also refer to a pawnbroker.[85] As a result of its inclusion in Hall's *Chronicle* this story had an interesting afterlife and featured in the play *Sir Thomas More*, 1592-3, which discussed the issue of aliens in London from various angles. The foreign characters that incite the London population to revolt are named as Francis de Barde and Cavaler, both Lombards.[86] Francis de Barde is portrayed as a womaniser and Caveler as an unreliable tradesman; both are unperturbed by criticism because they have the support of the Italian ambassador who has influence over the Lord Mayor and the King.[87] The close relationship between some Italian merchants and the King was also noted by Skelton who wrote of the Lombard 'Diego Lomelyn / That was wont to win / Much money of the King, / At the cards and hazarding'; this is presumably another reference to Domenico Lomelino.[88] A contrasting example of this infiltration of identifiable Italian merchants into English drama can be seen in *The True Chronicle History of the Whole Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, of 1602, in which the Florentine merchant, Fryskiball, presumably one of the Frescobaldi, is portrayed as a lenient and merciful man, a model Christian who had learnt to speak English.[89]

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[85] H. Bradley, 'Italian Merchants in London: *c*. 1350-*c*. 1450', PhD Thesis (University of London, 1992), p. 13.

[86] A. Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*: *A Study of Stage Characters and National Identity in English Renaissance Drama, 1558 to 1642* (New Jersey, 1992), p. 50. Hoenselaars identifies Caveler as a Frenchman, but it seems more likely to have been the Lucchese Antonio Cavallari.

[87] *Ibid*., p. 51. For discussions of this work, and Shakespeare's possible authorship, see T. Howard-Hill, ed., *Shakespeare and 'Sir Thomas More': Essays on the play and its Shakespearian Interest* (Cambridge, 1989).

[88] Brown, *Four Years*, II, p. 235, n. 3; Page , 'Letters of Denization', p. 155. 'Lomelino, Dominico', from Genoa, received letters of denization in June 1513.

[89] Hoenselaars , *Images of Englishmen and Foreigners*, p. 103. The principal source for this play is John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, see G. Townsend, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition*, 8 vols. (London, 1837-41), V, pp. 392-4, which in turn used Bandello as a source, see M. Bandello, *Le Novelle*, D. Maestri, ed., 4 vols. (Alexandria, 1993), II, pp. 274-9: 'Francesco Frescobaldi fa cortesia ad un straniero e n'è ben rimeritato, essendo colui divenuto contestabile d'Inghilterra'.

Besides their key role in the supply of Italian luxury goods and in bringing Italian artisans to England,[90] Italian merchants often interacted with the Tudor monarchs in the role of diplomats. Raimondo de Soncino, the first, and last, resident ambassador of the Duke of Milan at the English court, wrote in a dispatch on 8 Sept 1497 that Henry VII was 'most thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of Italy'. Soncino believed that this was due to the king's contacts in Rome such as Giovanni Gigli and Adriano Castellesi,[91] who gave him and his courtiers such knowledge 'that I fancy myself at Rome', but was also because 'the merchants, most especially the Florentines, never cease giving the King of England advices'.[92] Indeed, it was to be merchants rather than ecclesiastics who provided the most constant link between England and Italy in the sixteenth century and thus proved the more useful diplomatic intermediaries. Some were granted official status; in 1490 the Duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, requested that the king give credence to the Genoese merchant Benedetto Spinola 'as to himself'.[93] Similarly, the Venetian merchants Piero Contarini and Luca Valaresso were granted the power to encourage Henry VII to join the Holy League in February 1496, on the grounds that 'it was a long way to send ambassadors in safety'.[94] Rulers could also choose to utilise individuals from other areas of Italy if they had prominent status at the English court. For example Ludovico Maria Sforza, who by this point was no longer regent but Duke of Milan, used Lorenzo Bonvisi of Lucca to speak on his behalf to Henry VII in 1499.[95]

By the middle of the sixteenth century the system of resident ambassadors, supplemented when necessary by special envoys, was firmly established. However, such was the pomp that surrounded these missions that it was difficult to use these channels to conduct secret negotiations. As a result, the continual travel of many merchants and their contacts across Europe made them ideal conduits of information

[90] See Chapters 4 and 5.

[91] For a discussion of Gigli and Castellesi's royal patronage, see Chapter 3.

[92] *CSPV*, I.751.

[93] *CSPV*, I.570.

[94] *CSPV*, I.676; Brown, *Four Years*, I, pp. 64-6. In a letter to his brother written in July 1512, the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Badoer, described how he had disguised himself variously as a Scotsman, a Croat, a subject of the Emperor's, and an Englishman during his journey to England. He also wrote of the dangers that he encountered, which included falling from his horse on ice in the mountains and running aground on an overloaded boat on the Rhine.

[95] *CSPM*, 623.

and useful, cheaper, agents for less official negotiations. The Florentine Bartolommeo Compagni negotiated with the French on behalf of the English in 1544,[96] whilst another Florentine, Antonio Guidotti, negotiated between Henry VIII and Cosimo de' Medici for a loan of £15,000 that would provide funds to invade France in 1545.[97] Antonio Bonvisi reported European troop movements to Cromwell,[98] whilst the Venetian Francisco Bernardo passed to and fro between England and France in 1546 carrying proposals for peace talks, apparently without the knowledge of the Venetian secretary in England.[99] It is notable that even whilst the Italian merchant community in England was contracting, a few prominent individuals established themselves as key diplomatic intermediaries. Antonio Guidotti became more formally involved in Anglo-French peace talks in 1550 and was knighted by Edward VI for his service, receiving a yearly pension of £250.[100] The Venetian Giacomo Ragazzoni played a crucial role for Mary, acting as a conduit of information between England and the papacy because his brother, Monsignor Vettor Ragazzoni, served as secretary to Julius III. Such was his status that Mary awarded him the privilege of adding the Tudor rose to the Ragazzoni coat of arms, a moment that he had recorded by the artist Francesco Montemezzano in the Sala degli Imperatore of the Palazzo Ragazzoni in Sacile (Fig. 18).[101] At Elizabeth's court, Guido Cavalcanti acted as an intermediary between England and France during negotiations for the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, and Elizabeth showed her gratitude for this by granting him a pension of £100.[102] He was also involved in the Anjou marriage negotiations in which 'it was necessary for each side somehow to convince the other that the proposals were seriously intended without, however, specifying terms which, later, might prove inconvenient'.[103] Finally, there was Horatio Palavicino. In the eighteenth century it was believed that he was the papal tax collector in England under Mary and that in 1559 he abjured Catholicism and pocketed the money; however, this

[96] *L&P,* XX.ii.289.

[97] Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 272.

[98] *L&P,* X.273, 368, 442.

[99] *L&P,* XX.i.550.

[100] Nichols, *Literary Remains,* II, p. 256; *Foedera,* H.VI.iii.188.

[101] De Maria, *Becoming Venetian*, pp. 159-62.

[102] Levey, 'A Semi-Professional Diplomat', p. 415; *CPR,* 1558-60, p. 254; *Foedera,* H.VI.iv.94.

[103] Levey, 'A Semi-Professional Diplomat', p. 216.

Fig. 18: Francesco Montemezzano, *Giacomo Ragazzoni and Mary Tudor*, fresco, *c*. 1588, Sala degli Imperatori, Palazzo Ragazzoni, Sacile.

account appears to have arisen from a gloss on a note written at his death.[104] His contact with the papacy stemmed from the fact that his family handled the papal monopoly of alum. It was as a result of the sale of the Palavicino stock of alum to the Dutch rebels, a sale that was underwritten by Elizabeth in order to keep the revolt alive, that Horatio was thrown onto the English side.[105] This switch to the Protestant cause was partly brought about by the arrest and torture of his brother by papal agents due to a dispute over the alum monopoly. Elizabeth even went so far as to write a letter to Cardinal Galli in order to demand Fabritio's release, threatening the arrest of all ships, goods and merchants from the Papal States.[106] Horatio acted as Elizabeth's financial agent, sourcing funding from across Europe, and was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to Germany, for which he was knighted.[107] Ultimately, he became so well established at court that when he died in 1600, one of his elegists was able to add a neat turn to the familiar proverb that an 'Inglese italianato è un diavolo incarnato', writing that 'an Englishman Italianate / becomes a devil incarnate; / but an Italian Anglified / becomes a saint Angelified'.[108]

There was a certain practicality to such arrangements that did not necessarily include an assumption of loyalty to the English cause. Considerations delivered to Parliament in 1559 noted of merchant strangers that:

> The Italians above all other to be taken heed of, for they in all times pass to go to and fro everywhere and for themselves serve all princes at once, and with their perfumed gloves and wanton presents, and gold enough to boot if need be, work what they list and lick the fat even from our beards.[109]

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[104] Stone, *An Elizabethan*, p. 3.

[105] *Ibid*., p. 4.

[106] *Ibid*., p. 62; TNA, PRO31/9/111, ff. 115-8.

[107] Stone, *An Elizabethan*, p. 5.

[108] Lievsay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy*, p. 8.

[109] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon., the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire* (London, 1883), I.587(10).

The potential risk posed by politicised merchants was realised in the actions of Roberto Ridolfi.[110] The Florentine merchant, who shipped English kersies[111] to Antwerp and imported silks whilst also acting as a financial agent for clients such as William Cecil, planned to help England return to the Catholic fold by means of foreign assistance. He supplied information to the French and Spanish ambassadors in London and received pensions from both in return whilst also acting as a *nunzio segreto* for the pope, smuggling into England copies of *Regnans in excelsis*, the papal bull of 1570 that excommunicated Elizabeth. He also channelled papal funding to the northern earls, whose uprising in 1569 had the dual aim of restoring England to Catholicism and placing Mary, Queen of Scots on the throne. This roused the suspicions of Sir Francis Walsingham but Ridolfi was able to claim it as an ordinary banking transaction; nonetheless, he was detained under house arrest but was later released after a plea from Elizabeth for clemency. He went on to be the architect of what came to be known as the 'Ridolfi' plot - a plan to mount a foreign invasion of England in order to place Mary on the throne, which led to the execution of the Duke of Norfolk on the count of treason, but from which he escaped prosecution by remaining on the continent.

Taken together, the Italian merchants who operated in England offered various insights into the fragmented geography of the Italian peninsula. As a result, it is likely that the Tudor monarchs each had a personal knowledge of the region. When this was coupled with the peninsula's geopolitical importance in the sixteenth century as the Habsburgs and Valois battled for dominance,[112] it is not surprising that amongst the various maps and topographic pictures listed in the inventory of Henry VIII's possessions in 1547, there were more depicting Italian locations than anywhere else. Henry owned images of Ancona, Venice, and 'a longe Mappe of paper pasted vppon canvas contaynynge the Discription of Constantynenople venice and Naoples'.[113] It is possible that the map of Venice was a print of Jacopo de' Barbari's famous woodcut image of the city (Fig. 19).[114] There were also two depictions of Florence on 'stayned cloth',[115] one of which

[110] For the subsequent information on Ridolfi see L. Hunt, 'Ridolfi, Roberto di' in *DNB*, pp. 956-8.

[111] Kersey was a type of woollen cloth.

[112] The battle for control over the Italian peninsula will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

[113] *1547 Inventory*, nos. 10759, 10772, 10771.

[114] P. Barber and T. Harper, *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art* (London, 2010), p. 30.

[115] *1547 Inventory*, nos. 10755, 10770.

Fig. 19: Jacopo da Barbari, *Bird's Eye View of Venice from the South*, woodcut printed from six blocks on six sheets of joined paper, 1500, The British Museum, 1895,0122.1192-1197.

Fig. 20: *Italie Provincie Modernus Situs*, Venice, manuscript on vellum, *c*. 1425-50, British Library, Cotton Roll xiii 44.

Fig. 21: German School, *The Battle of Pavia*, oil on panel, *c*. 1530, The Royal Collection, RCIN 405792.

was presumably that presented by the Florentine merchant Antonio Carsidoni in June 1543.[116] Perhaps the most useful, in terms of allowing the English monarch to gain an understanding of Italy's geography, was the 'Discription of Italie of parchement sette in a frame of woode'.[117] This could well be the map of Italy which survives in the Cotton collection of manuscripts at the British Library (Fig. 20).[118] This map can be dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century and its use of dialect suggests that it was composed in Venice. Although outdated in Italy by the Tudor period, it could well have been considered a suitable diplomatic gift for either Henry VII or Henry VIII, for it would have enabled the English king to follow the Italian campaigns.[119] The other maps in royal possession also point to an interest in the Italian wars; they included depictions of the castle at Milan, the siege of Naples, the Sack of Rome and the siege of Pavia.[120] Henry VIII also owned a painting of this last subject which still survives in the Royal Collection, and this duplication was likely due to appreciation of the subject matter, in particular the capture of the French king, Francis I (Fig. 21).[121]

Thus, the Tudor monarchs were very likely to have had knowledge of Italy as a place, and to this must be added knowledge of Italian as a language. In 1962 Parks wrote a brief article on the beginnings of the Tudor interest in Italian, focusing on translations of Italian works and identifying it as a sudden development of the 1540s.[122] This can be broadened out in relation to the monarchs by exploring the way in which they engaged with the language. Reports from Italians in England often made reference to the ruler's linguistic abilities; for example, Sebastiano Giustinian's letter of April 1515 related that Henry VIII could speak a little Italian, as well as English, French, Latin and Spanish.[123] Little evidence survives of Edward VI's ability in Italian, but Martin Bucer reported from Cambridge, in a letter in May 1550 to Johannes Brentius, that Edward did speak

[116] *1542 Inventory*, II, no. 3471.

[117] *1547 Inventory*, no. 10758.

[118] BL, Cotton Roll xiii.44.

[119] Barber and Harper, *Magnificent Maps*, p.28.

[120] *1547 Inventory*, nos. 10779, 10756, 10754, 10760.

[121] *Ibid.*, no. 10709.

[122] G.B. Parks, 'The Genesis of Tudor Interest in Italian', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 77.5 (1962), pp. 529-36.

[123] Brown, *Four Years*, I, p. 86.

Italian, as well as learning French, Latin, and Greek.[124] Giovanni Michiel, Venetian ambassador at Mary's court, reported in 1557 that the queen had been taught Italian amongst other languages, but that she did not like to speak it even though she understood it.[125] By contrast, the princess Elizabeth was so proud of her ability in Italian that she refused to speak anything else with Italians.[126] It is perhaps because of Elizabeth, whose love of Italian did so much to popularise the language at the English court, that the 1540s can be counted as a crucial period, because it was then that she began to learn the language as a result of the influence of Henry's sixth wife, Katherine Parr. Katherine not only owned a copy of Petrarch in Italian, but the earliest evidence of Elizabeth's abilities in the language is in an Italian letter to her stepmother written in July 1544.[127] The young princess also made a translation of Katherine's *Prayers or Meditations* into Latin, French, and Italian as a New Year's gift to her father in 1545.[128] She continued to be proud of her skill for she translated an Italian sermon of the reformer Bernardino Ochino into Latin and dedicated it to Edward VI, to whom she sent it as a New Year's gift, probably in 1548.[129]

The Piedmontese Giovanni Battista Castiglione was the central figure in fostering Elizabeth's ability in Italian, and subsequently in providing support to other Italians at court, although it seems unlikely that he was her very first Italian teacher.[130] In 1544 he

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[124] Nichols, *Literary Remains*, I, p. cxliv.

[125] E. Albèri, ed., 'Relazioni d'Inghilterra del clarissimo Giovanni Micheli', in L. Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato* (Turin, 1965), I: Inghilterra, p. 405: 'in questa non ardisce parlare, benchè l'intenda'.

[126] *Ibid*., pp. 411-2: 'l'italiana, nella quale si compiace tanto, che con gl'Italiani, per ambizione, non vuol mai parlare altrimenti'.

[127] BL, MS Cotton, Otho C.x., f. 235.

[128] BL, MS Royal, 7 D.x.

[129] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 6. For a discussion of this manuscript see V. Gabrielli, 'Bernardino Ochino, "Sermo di Christo": un inedito di Elisabetta Tudor', *La Cultura*, 21.1 (1983), pp. 163-74.

[130] F. Yates, 'Italian Teachers in Elizabethan England', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1.2 (1937-8), p. 106. Yates calls Castiglione 'one of Queen Elizabeth's Italian masters', and Gabrieli, 'Un inedito', p. 163, holds the same view. M. Bellorini, 'Giovan Battista Castiglione consigliere di Elisabetta I', in S. Rossi, ed., *Contributi dell'Istituto di filologia moderna: Serie inglese* (Milan, 1974), p. 115, gives evidence that he was in England from 1550, rather than 1557, as Yates states. However, this does not automatically support the conclusion that he was 'il primo ed unico insegnante di italiano di Elisabetta'.

was one of the many Italian soldiers recruited to serve Henry VIII in his conflict with France, and served at Boulogne and Calais.[131] He then appears to have come to England and settled; he received letters of denization on 29 October 1550 without having to make any payment, which suggests that he was already in royal service.[132] As Elizabeth's Italian teacher it seems likely that he was the 'John Baptist' who received payment in the princess's household while she was at Hatfield in 1551.[133] He remained close to Elizabeth and was imprisoned in the Tower in 1554 following the Wyatt rebellion against Mary's marriage to Philip II, because he had carried the princess' letters.[134] He was imprisoned again in 1556 after the circulation of an anti-Catholic text was traced to Elizabeth's household,[135] and was not released until Elizabeth's accession, upon which he was made a Groom of the Privy Chamber.[136] In 1565 he received a grant of the manors of Benham Valence and Wood Speen for his service to the Queen.[137] What is notable about Castiglione's position is that he acted as a liaison between other Italians and the court. In 1558 he married Margaret Compagni, the daughter of the Florentine merchant Bartolomeo, who had been 'the King's Factor' in 1550 under Edward.[138] Through his connections with the Compagni he became friends with the engineer Iacopo Aconcio, who had been supported by the family when he arrived in England in the winter of 1559;[139] in 1580 Aconcio's *Una essortiatione al timor di Dio* was published *con alcune rime italiane nouamente messe in luce [by G.B. Castiglione]* by John Wolfe in London, with a dedication to the Queen.[140] Margaret also worked in

[131] G. Cokayne, 'Pedigree of Castillion', *The Genealogist*, 17 (1901), p. 200.

[132] *CPR*, 1549-51, p. 252.

[133] P. Smythe, 'Household Expenses of the Princess Elizabeth during Her Residence at Hatfield, October 1, 1551, to September 30, 1552', *The Camden Miscellany*, Old Series, 2 (1853), pp. 34, 37, 42.

[134] G. Bowyer, 'On the History of the Family of Castiglione', *Archaeologia*, 32 (1847), p. 371.

[135] M. Bellorini, 'Giovan Battista Castiglione', p. 116; *CSPV*, VI.i.505.

[136] Bowyer, 'On the History', p. 372; C. Merton, 'The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553-1603', PhD Thesis (University of Cambridge, 1991), p. 5. The male servants of the privy chamber included Gentlemen, Grooms and Gentlemen Ushers. The Grooms kept the Privy Purse, kept the doors, acted as messengers and fetched food, wood, coal and water for the privy lodgings.

[137] Cokayne, 'Pedigree of Castillion', p. 74.

[138] Bellorini, 'Giovan Battista Castiglione', p. 119; Cokayne, 'Pedigree of Castillion', p. 200.

[139] Bellorini, 'Giovan Battista Castiglione', p. 119.

[140] For a discussion of Elizabeth's patronage of Italians and the mediating role of gifts such as book dedications, see Chapter 3.

the privy chamber and can be found listed as the 'Mother of the Maids' in some of the New Year gift rolls.[141] These rolls also indicate that both Giovanni Battista and Margaret acted as important points of contact for the other Italians who worked in and around the privy chamber; both were listed as delivering gifts from musicians to the Queen,[142] and their four daughters also served the Queen.[143] Castiglione also had particular connections to the Queen's favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and funnelled information to them,[144] as well as bringing individuals, such as the jurists Alberico and Scipione Gentili, to their attention.[145]

As for Elizabeth, her love of Italian stayed with her throughout her life; on meeting the new Venetian secretary Giovan Carlo Scaramelli in 1603 she insisted on speaking Italian, hoping that she had not forgotten that which she had learnt as a child.[146] This comment was, however, slightly disingenuous for it appears that she spoke Italian almost continuously throughout her life. Charles Merbury certainly appears to have believed that using Italian was a means of gaining royal favour for he prefaced his book of 1581, which supported the absolute power of the king, with a dedication in Italian to Elizabeth, and the work, *A briefe discourse of royall monarchie*, also included a collection of Italian proverbs.[147] Similarly, when Breuning von Buchenbach visited on

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[141] BL, MS Egerton 3052. In the New Year's gift roll of 1584 12oz of plate was given to 'Mrs Baptiste mother of the maydes'; Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 6, 207. The Mother of the Maids supervised the maids of honour and monitored their behaviour.

[142] Ashbee, A., *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols. (Aldershot, 1986-96), VI, p. 3. For example, in 1559 two globes depicting Asia and Europe from George Comey reached the Queen 'by Baptest'; Nichols, *Progresses*, II, p. 78. Similarly, in 1578 Mark Anthony Galliardello gave a 'vial' that was 'delivered to Mrs Baptist'.

[143] Bellorini, 'Giovan Battista Castiglione', p. 120.

[144] *Ibid*., p. 121. For example, BL, MS Add. 35831, f. 119. This letter sent from Bernardino Ferrario to Castiglione, 23 January 1563, warns that 'per vie secrete da persone degne di fede son certificate che fra molti Principi si pratica una potente lega stretamente contra la Maesta della Regina' and, after going into further detail, asking Castiglione to 'fare sapere il tutto' to Cecil and Dudley.

[145] Bellorini, 'Giovan Battista Castiglione', p. 126.

[146] N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, eds., 'Le Relazioni degli stati Europei lette al senato degli Ambasciatori Veneti nel secolo decimosettimo', in L. Firpo, ed., *Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, (Turin, 1965), I: Inghilterra**,** p. 489: '...non so se avrò ben parlato in questa lingua italiana, pur perché io la imparai da fanciulla credo che sì di non avermela scordata.'

[147] C. Merbury, *A Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie* (London, 1581).

behalf of Duke Frederick of Würtemberg and Teck in 1595 he reported that he spoke to the queen in Italian, 'which language, [he] had been told, would sound sweetest to her ears'.[148] Thus it seems likely that it was Elizabeth's abilities in the language that made her feel 'half Italian'.

It was not only Italian manners and language that were popular at the English court, but also Italian fashions. It must be taken into account that many of the most detailed descriptions of life at court were made by Italian observers, such as the Venetian ambassadors, and so it is unsurprising that they used terms such as 'Italian', 'Venetian' and 'Milanese' as descriptive adjectives in relation to items of clothing. One example is the report that, during Mary Tudor's betrothal to Louis XII of France, Mary and Katherine of Aragon wore caps of cloth of gold 'covering the ears in the Venetian fashion'.[149] However, it does seem that such terms were also common to English usage; in 1519 Richard Gibson provided '12 Almain coats with Italian sleeves' for revels costumes,[150] and Princess Mary's accounts for 1546 included a payment of 10 shillings for the translation of a pair of French sleeves into Venice sleeves of black velvet.[151] Similarly, full breeches that were closed to the knee, which could be either voluminous or close fitting, were known as 'Venetians'.[152] Elizabeth appears to have had complete sets of clothing in different styles, and when the Scottish ambassador visited she insisted on his picking which suited her best; he adroitly suggested the Italian style.[153] The patterns for these items were sometimes sourced from continental Europe; Robert Dudley commissioned Tommaso Baroncelli to find patterns for Italian and Spanish fashions in Antwerp.[154] The importance of the adoption of fashions from other countries was that clothes were believed to have an effect on the identity of the wearer. John

[148] Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 59, 194, 363.

[149] *CSPV*, II.505.

[150] *L&P*, III.i.436.

[151] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, p. 165; TNA, E101/424/7, f. 1v.

[152] J. Ashelford, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth* (London, 1988), p. 153.

[153] J. Melville, *Memoirs of His Own Life by Sir James Melville: MDXLIX – MDXCIII* (Edinburgh, 1827), p. 123.

[154] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, p. 128.

Florio included the saying: 'Cloathe a log, and he will seeme a wag / and though manners makes, yet apparel shapes', in his *Second Frutes*, of 1591.[155]

The interest in Italian fashion stretched beyond items of clothing to encompass other forms of cultural display. Hall's description in the *Chronicle* of twelfth night revels in 1512 includes the fact that at Epiphany the king and others were 'disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thing not seen afore in Englande',[156] an innovation which Anglo has described as being 'noteworthy as an illustration of Henry's desire to increase the brilliance of his court by introducing fashionable continental revels into England'.[157] By the end of the sixteenth century such entertainments had become far more commonplace; Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* , which was first performed in 1592 or 1593, opens with a description of how the King will be entertained:

> Music and poetry is his delight;
> Therefore I'll have Italian masques by night,
> Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows.[158]

Italy not only provided the form of some entertainments, but also the setting and often the story; the plots of one third of extant plays show Italian influence, and over 400 titles were translated from Italian.[159] Some individuals could be found on stage, acting as puppeteers,[160] or acrobats. Amongst the entertainments put on by Robert Dudley for Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575 there was an Italian who showed 'such feats of agilitie, in goinges, turninges, tumblinges ... soomersauts, caprettiez and flights; forward,

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[155] J. Florio, *Second Frutes (1591): A Facsimile Reproduction with an introduction by R. Simonini* (New York, 1977), p. 115.

[156] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 526.

[157] Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 117; *L&P*, III.i.113. It was not a unique occasion, on 8 March 1519 expenses were paid for a 'maskalyne' after the manner of Italy.

[158] F. Romany and R. Lindsey, eds., *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Plays* (London, 2003), 'Edward the Second', Scene 1.

[159] Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, p. 7.

[160] S. Young, *Shakespeare Manipulated: The Use of the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare in 'teatro di figura' in Italy* (New Jersey, 1996), p. 9. Young cites a reference from P.C.Ferrigni (Yorick), *La storia dei burattini* (Florence, 1884), p. 287, which refers to a letter addressed to the Lord Mayor of London in 1573 to licence the Italian *burattinai* to establish in the City their 'strange-motions'.

backward, sydewize, a downward, upward, and with sundry windings, gyrings, and circumflexions; allso lightly and with such easiness ... I bleast me by my faith to behold him, and began to doout whither a waz a man or a spirite'.[161] Elizabeth also had an Italian jester, Monarcho, who was with her in the 1560s and 1570s, as is shown by payments for his clothes.[162] He was a prominent enough figure for Nashe to describe Harvey in 1578 as 'an insulting monarch above *Monarcha*, the Italian, that ware crownes on his shooes'.[163] Shakespeare also described a character as 'A phantasime, a Monarcho and one that makes sport to the Prince' in *Love's Labour's Lost*.[164]

The area in which Italians were possibly most visible was as the musicians of the Royal Household. Music formed an integral part of the daily life at court, trumpeters and drummers sounded alarms at appropriate moments, wind instruments were heard at mealtimes and stringed instruments accompanied dancing.[165] This separation occurred along the lines of the traditional medieval distinction between loud and soft instruments: *haut* instruments, such as trumpets, drums, shawms and sackbuts, were played outdoors or in large halls, while *bas* instruments, such as rebecs, flutes and virginals, and also solo instrumentalists, were suitable for a small room.[166] Music was an area in which the Tudor monarchs could perhaps most closely interact with members of their household because Henry VIII, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth were all skilled musicians themselves. Sebastiano Giustinian reported that Henry 'plays almost on every instrument' and 'sings and composes fairly',[167] whilst Edward chose to play the lute to the mareschal St. André following the conclusion of his matrimonial alliance with France, presumably so that his skills would be reported back to his future bride.[168] The Venetian ambassador Giovanni Michiel was particularly impressed by Mary's skill in

[161] Nichols, *Progresses*, I, p. 440.

[162] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, p. 106. For example, BL, MS Egerton 2806, f. 6v notes a payment to Thomas Ludwell, head livery tailor, to make clothes 'for an Italian named Monarko' in 1568.

[163] McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, p. 76.

[164] W. Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, H. Woudhuysen, ed., (Surrey, 1998), Act 4, Scene 1.

[165] A. Ashbee, 'Groomed for Service: Musicians in the Privy Chamber at the English Court, c. 1495-1558', *Early Music*, 25.2 (1997), p. 188.

[166] P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 36-7.

[167] Brown, *Four Years*, p. 76.

[168] Nichols, *Literary Remains*, I, p. liv and II, p. 333.

playing the *manicordo* and the lute, especially the speed of her hands.[169] Elizabeth too loved music; a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard survives which depicts her playing the lute (Fig. 22). Adam von Zwetkovich, Baron von Mitterburg, reported to the Emperor Maximilian as he conducted marriage negotiations on behalf of the Emperor and the Archduke Charles, that he had seen Elizabeth 'dancing in her apartments, some Italian dances, half Pavane and half Galliard, and she also played very beautifully upon the clavichord and the lute'.[170] Elizabeth may well have been taught such dances by an Italian. Jasper Gaffoyne was appointed to the position of dancing master by warrant in June 1542, and was noted in the Return of Aliens of 1571 as 'Gasperinge Italian, the Quenes man' who had 'byn in England thirtie years'.[171]

Of these musicians a surprising number were Italian, and they could exert a direct influence - as practitioners and teachers – and also act as a channel through which the music of Italy and the continent reached England.[172] They, and other migrants from continental Europe, helped to compensate for the fact that whilst English singers were universally praised, native instrumentalists were often perceived as weak.[173] Continental musicians began to arrive in greater numbers during the reign of Henry VIII and the Italians included individuals such as Benedict Browne from Padua, who was trumpeter and Sergeant-trumpeter between 1513 and 1536,[174] the lutenist Giovanni Pietro de Bustis, who on 17 October 1512 was given a life annuity of £40, the highest wages of

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[169] Albèri, 'Relazioni d'Inghilterra', p. 405.

[170] Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth* , p. 228.

[171] Kirk and Kirk, 'Returns of Aliens', I, p. 433; F. Madden, 'Narrative of the Visit of the Duke de Nájera to England, in the year 1543-4; written by his Secretary, Pedro de Ganti', *Archaeologia*, 23 (1831), pp. 352-3**.** In February 1544 the Spanish nobleman, Don Manriquez de Lara, Duke de Najera, described how he was conducted into the apartments of Katherine Parr after an audience with the king where there was a Venetian gentleman who danced so wonderfully, that he 'appeared to have wings in his feet'.

[172] J. Izon, 'Italian Musicians at the Tudor Court', *The Musical Quarterly*, 44.3 (1958), p. 337.

[173] *Ibid*., p. 330**;** *CSPV*, II.624. The Venetian Secretary Niccolò Sagudino reported listening to the king's choristers 'whose voices are more divine than human' in 1515, but then later commented at Greenwich that 'two musicians, also in the King's service, played the organ, but very badly; they kept bad time, their touch was feeble, and their execution not very good', in 1516 Henry acquired the services of two Italian organists: Dionysius Memo and Benedict de Opicius.

[174] *BDECM*.

Fig. 22: Nicholas Hilliard, *Elizabeth playing the Lute*, vellum stuck onto card, *c*. 1580, Private Collection.

Fig. 23: Attributed to Hans Holbein, *Musicians on a Gallery*, pen and black ink with grey and black wash, *c*. 1533-6, British Museum, 1852,0519.2.

any musician at court at the time,[175] and the organist Benedict de Opicius from Monferrat.[176] By 1540 Henry VIII had attracted to his court about 37 minstrels and musicians, and by 1547 perhaps 58.[177] Their numbers reduced slightly in subsequent years and Elizabeth had an average of about 30 musicians at any one time.[178]

It was the musical consorts that Henry brought to England which were to ultimately exert the most profound influence, both in terms of their numbers and because they spent so long in England. By 1525 the remaining four sackbut and shawm players of Henry VII had been augmented by six Italians who probably arrived together: John de Antonia, from Castello in Venice, Alvisy de Blasia, Mark Antonio de Petala, from Venice, Pelegryne, from Padua, and Ippolito and Fraunces de Salvator.[179] A sketch attributed to Holbein (Fig. 23), shows the shawms and sackbuts, augmented with a straight trumpet with a banner, performing in what appears to be a temporary setting, such as that constructed for the reception of the French ambassadors at Greenwich in 1527.[180] Members of this group of Italians played a crucial role in the recruitment of perhaps the most influential consort to come to England: that composed of members of the Bassano family who were introduced to England by Peregrine Simon and Mark Anthony Petala in September 1531.[181] Ultimately the Bassano brothers Alvise, Anthony, Jasper and John were employed in the shawms and sackbuts.[182] Anthony returned to Venice by 1536 and it is likely that his brothers went too. However, in 1538 he returned as an instrument maker and Henry, through Cromwell, made efforts to get

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[175] *BDECM; RECM*, VII, p. 39.

[176] For a more in-depth discussion of these individuals and their position at court, see Chapter 3.

[177] W. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (New Jersey, 1953), p. 178.

[178] *Ibid*., p. 178. 41 musicians in 1558, 33 in 1570, 24 in 1580, 29 in 1590, and 38 in 1603.

[179] D. Lasocki and R. Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 6. Fraunces de Salvator was replaced that same year by Jasper Bernard and by 1528 they had been reduced to five by the omission of Alvisy de Blasia.

[180] Starkey, *Henry VIII: A European Court*, p. 67.

[181] N. Nicolas, *The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII* (London, 1827), p. 165. The two men are included with three of the brothers in a payment in the Privy Purse Expenses of 1531; *BDECM*. It is also possible that the Alvise de Blasia who was in England in 1525 was Alvise Bassano.

[182] Nicolas, *The Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 165.

the other brothers back.[183] The English agent in Venice, Edmund Harvel, wrote to Cromwell in October 1539, that the Bassano were 'al excellent and esteemd above al other in this cite in their vertu' and it would be 'no smal honor to his majesty to have music comparable with any other prince or perchance bettre and more variable'; however, negotiations with the doge to let them go broke down and they had to set off on their own with all their instruments.[184] By 1540 they were in England and the king granted stipends to the 'brothers in the science or art of music' on 6 April,[185] and established them within a few years in housing at the dissolved monastery of the Charterhouse.[186] The five brothers were made denizens in March 1545, along with Alvise's four sons and Jasper's one son,[187] a sign of the dynasty that they were to become. The six-member recorder consort can be traced in court records from 1540 into the 1630s and of the nineteen official members of the consort over this period - twenty if Andrea Bassano is included because he was added as a seventh member of the consort for Elizabeth's funeral in 1604 - no fewer than thirteen were from the Bassano family, and two outsiders were related by marriage.[188] Their perception of their position at court can be seen in a letter from the brothers to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, written in Italian in 1568, in which they refer to raising their children to serve the queen,[189] something that is perhaps borne out by the names of the children of the first generation of the family who settled in England: amongst the Italian names such as Andrea, Lodovico and Geronimo can also be found an Elizabeth, an Arthur, and an Edward. The importance of these individuals in the broader context of court life and in the position of Italians in Elizabethan London can be seen in Florio's inclusion of a conversation about them in his *First Fruites*:

> Hath the queene Musitions?

[183] D. Lasocki, 'The Anglo-Venetian Bassano Family As Instrument Makers and Repairers', *Galpin Society Journal*, 38 (1985), p. 114.

[184] D. Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Playing in England 1500-1740', *Early Music*, 10 (1982), p. 23; TNA, SP1/153, f.168.

[185] *L&P*, XV.611(19).

[186] Lasocki, 'The Anglo-Venetian Bassano Family', pp. 117-8. They eventually moved in 1552 after harassment from Sir Edward North who had bought the Charterhouse.

[187] Page, 'Letters of Denization', p. 16.

[188] Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Playing', p. 23.

[189] TNA, SP12/47, f. 167: 'alevando sempre li figliuoli nelle virtu, per far servitio a sua Maesta'.

> Yes sir man, but they are almost al Italians.
> Doth she love Italians?
> Yea sir, very wel.
> Delightes she to speak with them?
> Yea sir, and she speaketh very eloquently.[190]

Despite traces of Anglicisation, such as the names of their children, and their apparent intention to settle in England, it appears that the Bassano family maintained a strong connection with Italy and with Venice in particular. In the course of a complaint in 1568 over payment, the brothers stated that they were 'called by the immortal fame of King Henry out of Venice',[191] and had left behind all of their property. However, Anthony's will, made in 1571, mentions property 'as well within the Realme of England, as elsewhere', which suggests that may have still owned property in Venice,[192] and two of his sons, Arthur and Andrea, visited Venice together in 1577.[193] Connections such as these meant that their position at court did not represent a discrete moment of cultural exchange but rather a continuous process because they remained in direct contact with musical developments in Italy. In England their children also intermarried with other Italian musicians and Venetians living in London; Jasper died in 1577 and was described as 'living with Mr Innocent Locutello', the Venetian merchant, having married his daughter Barbara.[194] Alvise's daughter Laura married the Venetian violinist and composer Joseph Lupo,[195] Anthony's daughter Isabella first married the Venetian Gieronemo Fusieco and then the violinist Ambrose Grasso of Pavia, who appears to have drowned at Windsor in November 1582,[196] and in 1592 Lodovico married Elizabeth Damon, who was probably one of the daughters of William Daman, an Italian

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[190] Florio, *First Fruites*, p. 59.

[191] TNA, SP12/47, f. 167: 'Essendo chiamati da l'immortal famma del Re Henrico fuora di Venetia patria nostra, lasciando nostre salare et ogni altri nostri beni'.

[192] TNA, PROB11/56, f. 325.

[193] D. Lasocki , 'The Bassanos: Anglo-Venetian and Venetian', *Early Music*, 14 (1986), p. 560.

[194] Lasocki and Prior, *The Bassanos*, p.25.

[195] *Ibid*, p. 44.

[196] *Ibid*, p. 45; E. Stokes, 'Lists of the King's Musicians, From the Audit Office Declared Accounts', *The Musical Antiquary*, 1 (1909), p. 251; Florio, *First Fruites*, p. 114. One of the model conversations includes the line 'I wyl go upon the water, & heare the queens Musitions, that are upon the water', which suggests that it was common for the musicians to play upon the water.

who had been brought to England by Sir Thomas Sackville and succeeded Battista Bassano's position in the recorder consort.[197] An alternative example of their connections with the wider Italian community in London is an account of an attack on Anthony's eldest son Mark Anthony on 16 August 1585 by soldiers who mistook him for a Spaniard when he was talking in Italian with two Venetians who worked at Jacopo Verzelini's glasshouse.[198]

An interesting aspect of the Tudor employment of Italian musicians was the fact that a high proportion of them were possibly Jewish.[199] This is particularly evident amongst the group of six string players from Venice that Henry VIII brought over as a consort in 1540. This consort was hugely influential at the English court and exemplified the way in which the violin replaced the rebec as the chief vehicle for court dance music, as well as the replacement of consorts made up of a single family of instruments over more heterogeneous ensembles.[200] It consisted of Zuane Maria da Cremona, Alberto de Venitia, Vincenzo da Venitia, Alexandro da Mylano, Ambrose da Milano and Romano da Milano;[201] they returned to Italy in June 1542, after being imprisoned as 'new Christians', a move intended by Henry VIII to impress Charles V.[202] It was not until November 1543 that four of them returned to London, bringing two replacements with them.[203] Although some individuals were only in England for a short time as a group they also left a lasting legacy in England; it is possible that George Comey, who served in England from 1545 until his death in 1574, and his brother Innocent, who served from 1551 until at least 1593, were Juan Maria da Cremona's sons,[204] and that Mark Anthony Galliardello, who served between 1545 and 1585, was the son of 'Paul de Venice', who replaced Vincenzo in February 1544.[205] Numerous members of the Lupo

[197] *BDECM*.

[198] TNA, SP12/181, f. 174.

[199] R. Prior, 'Jewish Musicians at the Tudor Court', *The Musical Quarterly*, 69.2 (1983), pp. 253-265. Prior has used analysis of individuals' names to make this suggestion.

[200] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 77.

[201] *Ibid*., p. 79.

[202] Prior, 'Jewish Musicians', pp. 257-61.

[203] *Ibid*., pp. 260-1.

[204] *BDECM*.

[205] *BDECM*; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 20. Marc Anthony Galliardello came to England via service in the household of the Cardinal of Lorraine, joining the English consort in 1545.

family can also be found serving in England.[206] It is notable that in the English records these individuals were generally considered to be Italian even though it is entirely possible that their families had only relatively recently fled to Northern Italy to escape persecution in Portugal and Spain.[207] In the Return of 1571 Innocent Comey was described as 'Italion, a musician', whilst George's denization in 1560 records that he was 'born a subject of the Duke of Milan'.[208] Nonetheless, a sign of Habsburg influence in Northern Italy can be seen in the fact that Anthony Conti and his wife Lucretia dei Tedeschi 'Millaneys' were entered as Spanish subjects when they received denization in 1571.[209] The viol consort continued to be dominated by this group of Italians until the end of the sixteenth century. In 1594 the first native Englishman, William Warren, joined the group, and under the Stuarts when new members were recruited from abroad they came from France rather than Italy, reflecting the growing dominance of France over the new fashions in dance and music during the seventeenth century.[210]

Finally, the influence of these musicians was compounded by the fact that they, and their relatives, served in some of the most private positions of the household. The recorder players and string players joined the presence chamber at their recruitment,[211] but some also had access to the privy chamber. For example, Benedict de Opicius was appointed to wait upon the king in his chamber,[212] and in a court case Augustine Bassano stated that he was 'bounden to daily attendance upon the Queen's Majesty'.[213] As a small child Mary clearly grew accustomed to the presence of the Venetian organist Dionysius Memo, for Giustinian described how as a two-year-old brought by Henry to meet the ambassador she called out to Memo and he was obliged to go and play for her.[214] Memo had by this point been made a Royal Chaplain and it indicates quite how close Italian musicians could be to the monarch, something that the ambassador did not

[206] *Ibid.*, p. 81. Ambrose da Milano's sons Peter and Joseph Lupo both worked in Antwerp before coming to London, and they appear to have been born in Venice.

[207] Prior, 'Jewish Musicians', pp. 257-9.

[208] Kirk and Kirk, 'Returns of Aliens', II, p. 132; *BDECM.*

[209] Page, 'Letters of Denization', p. 46.

[210] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 108.

[211] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[212] *RECM*, VII, p. 224.

[213] TNA, C3/8/90/1; Lasocki , 'Professional Recorder Playing', p. 25.

[214] *CSPV*, II.1010.

fail to note could be useful.[215] One of the highest status musicians at Elizabeth's court was Alfonso Ferrabosco from Bologna, who was made a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and, despite return visits to the continent in 1564 and 1569, received an annuity of £100 in 1567.[216] Ferrabosco became friends with four Venetians who visited the English court in 1575; they reported that 'he is one of the grooms of the Queen's privy chamber, and enjoys extreme favour with her Majesty on account of his being an excellent musician'.[217] However, in 1577 he found himself in disgrace for attending Mass at the house of the French ambassador,[218] which throws an interesting light on the need for religious orthodoxy within the privy chamber and echoes the tensions that were displayed when William Fleetwood disrupted Mass at the Portuguese Embassy in 1576. Ferrabosco's son, Alfonso II, also entered royal service.[219] Furthermore, some of the musicians' wives and daughters entered royal service: both Giovanni Pietro de Bustis and his wife were listed amongst Mary's ladies and gentlewomen,[220] and Lucretia dei Tedeschi, who served Elizabeth for many years, lived with the queen's lutenist Antonio Conti, even though she appears to have been married to the Milanese Antonio Pagano.[221]

Musicians were not the only individuals in the household to serve the Tudor monarchs in an intimate capacity; Italians can be found acting as their doctors and surgeons, although they did not dominate this field to the same extent. The recruitment of Italians to these positions was not a Tudor innovation; 'Petro de Florence' was named the king's physician to Richard II in 1367,[222] and 'Jacobo de melane phisico', who accompanied Henry V to France in 1420, may well also have been Italian.[223] Giovanni Battista Boerio

[215] Brown, *Four Years*, II, p. 161.

[216] *BDECM; Foedera*, H.VI.iv.134.

[217] *CSPV*, VII.617.

[218] *BDECM*.

[219] *BDECM*.

[220] *RECM*, VII, p. 70.

[221] Kirk and Kirk, 'Returns of Aliens', II, p. 26; *BDECM*; Merton, 'The Women Who Served', pp. 97, 260. It seems that Lucretia and Antonio Conti's daughters Elizabeth and Lucretia also served, and continued to do so into the reign of James I.

[222] Bradley, 'Italian Merchants in London', p. 246; TNA, E403/431, 6 July 1367.

[223] Bradley, 'Italian Merchants in London', p. 247; TNA, E403/645, 1 July 1420.

from Genoa was physician and astrologer to both Henry VII and Henry VIII,[224] and, just as occurred with the Venetian musicians, the Milanese ambassador in England, Raimondo de Soncino, noted that he would 'not fail to benefit the Duke's cause where he can'.[225] Others included the surgeon Anthony Ciabo from Savoy who received an annuity of £20 in 1519 which was increased to £40 by 1521,[226] and Wolsey's physician, the Venetian Agostino Agostini, who received letters of denization in 1530 and went on to serve Henry VIII.[227] Agostini was the co-author of a book with the king: *A book of plaister, spasmdrops, ointments etc devysed by the King's Majestie, Dr Burts, Dr Chambers, Dr Cromer and Dr Augustine*, and whilst in Wolsey's employ he acted as a conduit for bribes between the Venetians and the cardinal and was England's principal agent in residence at the court of Charles V in the early 1530s.[228] It is notable that some individuals remained in royal service for some time; for example, Cesare Adelmare served both Mary and Elizabeth.[229] The career of one such Italian doctor also provides an interesting example of the way in which the nationality of these individuals could be perceived. Balthazar Guercius from Milan was surgeon to Katherine of Aragon. Agostino Scarpinello, the Milanese ambassador in England, noted that he had left Italy because of the wars,[230] but he maintained his connections with the peninsula and used his status at the English court to get the duke's favour in order to claim some hereditary estate in the duke's territories in Italy.[231] Nonetheless, he also established himself in England and became a naturalised citizen in 1522. This choice was clearly considered to place him fully under the authority of the English king because when he was arrested in

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[224] P. Allen, ed., *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1906), I, Ep. 267**.** In 1512 Erasmus sent the physician his own translation of *Lucianus de Astrologia* which he hoped would be a fitting offering to 'dignum eo viro qui singulari doctrina sua, fide, prudential, primi medici locum tot iam annos meruerit, idque apud duos seculorum omnium primos Angliae reges, Henricum septimum, inaudita sapientia principem, et huius filium'.

[225] *CSPV*, I.785.

[226] E. Furdell, *The Royal Doctors, 1485-1714: Medical Personnel at the Tudor and Stuart Courts* (Rochester, N.Y., 2001), p. 32.

[227] Page, 'Letters of Denization', p. 63; For an overview of Agostini's career see E. Hammond, 'Doctor Augustine, Physician to Cardinal Wolsey and King Henry VIII', *Medical History*, 19 (1975), pp. 215-49.

[228] BL, MS Sloane, 1047; Hammond, 'Doctor Augustine', pp. 216 and 227.

[229] A. Wijffels, 'Caesar, Sir Julius', in *ODNB*, pp. 436-8. Sir Julius Caesar was Cesare Adelmare's son.

[230] *CSPM*, 872.

[231] *CSPV*, IV.676.

1544, on the charge of being against the king's supremacy, he was not able to appeal as a subject of the Emperor Charles V, who was then ruler of Milan, because he was not a visitor but had been naturalised and had and lived in England for twenty years.[232] He remained in England, but as a religious conservative he was not welcome under Edward, and Mary had to intercede on his behalf, which is suggestive of the fact that he had a close relationship with her mother.[233]

Some physicians made brief visits to England. The Milanese doctor and astrologer Girolamo Cardano was a friend of Edward's tutor John Cheke and so visited Edward, for whom he cast his horoscope and predicted a long life.[234] Caesare Scacco attended to Elizabeth, and the Queen wrote a letter to the doge, Alvise Mocenigo, asking that he be allowed to stay a little while longer without prejudicing his affairs in Italy, because she had 'received so much benefit from the skill of D. Caesar Scacco, physician, that she has thought it fitting to signify the fact to his serenity'.[235]

Perhaps the most renowned of Elizabeth's Italian doctors was Giulio Borgarucci, who was known as Dr Julio. A Protestant refugee from Urbino, he was associated first with Robert Dudley, and then the queen; he became a denizen in March 1562.[236] In September 1573 he was appointed physician to the queen with an annuity of £50.[237] He appears to have carried messages for Elizabeth for on one occasion the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to thank the queen for the 'confortable message Mr Julio brought us

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[232] *L&P*, XIX.i.6.

[233] Furdell, *The Royal Doctors*, p. 35.

[234] *Ibid*., p. 49. A similarly inaccurate prediction was made by the Italian from Piacenza who signed himself Gulielmus Parronus – anglicised as William Parron - in relation to the future health of Elizabeth of York. He presented Henry VII with a horoscope in 1503 which stated that she would live until 80. She died weeks later at the age of 37 and this likely forced him from his position at court. The horoscope survives in the British Library: BL, MS Royal 12 B. vi. For his career in England see C. Armstrong, 'An Italian Astrologer at the Court of Henry VII' in E.F. Jacob, ed., *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the late Celia M. Ardy* (London, 1960), pp. 433-54.

[235] *CSPV*, VII.659.

[236] Page, 'Letters of Denization', p. 26.

[237] *Foedera*, H. VI.iv.155.

lately from your Majesty',[238] and Borgarucci's wife, Eleanor, or Mrs Julio, can also be found amongst those giving gifts at New Year, which suggests that she too was in royal service.[239] Like Castiglione, Borgarucci acted as a mediator between other Italians and the court, because he was known to be 'physician to her Majesty, and by virtue of his office belongs to her chamber and is highly esteemed by all the Lords of the court'.[240] He enabled Otttaviano and Philippo Bon to discuss customs rates on currants and malmsey,[241] and helped Diogene Franceschini to request the revocation of Acerbo Velutelli's monopoly.[242] However, his wider notoriety stemmed from the fact that he was suspected of being a poisoner. *Leicester's Commonwealth*, a libellous tract against the queen's favourite that was written in 1584, made specific reference to Borgarucci, noting that:

> Neither must you marvel though all these died in divers manners of outward diseases, for this is the excellency of the Italian art, for which this surgeon and Dr. Julio were entertained so carefully, who can make a man die in what maner or show of sickness you will.[243]

The tract did not go so far as to implicate Borgarucci in the death of Walter Devereaux, Earl of Essex; the responsibility for that was instead placed with 'an Italian recipe' made by another surgeon 'newly come to my Lord from Italy'.[244] The association of Italians with poison came from two sources: the popularity of Italian *novelle*, many of which included revenge plot lines and poisoning,[245] and the very real threat of assassination - in 1568 Walsingham received a report from an Italian informant,

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[238] M. Bellorini, 'Un medico italiano alla corte di Elisabetta: Giulio Borgarucci', *English Miscellany*, 19 (1968), p. 251; E. Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, & James I*, 3 vols. (London, 1838), II, pp. 82-3.

[239] Kirk and Kirk, 'Returns of Aliens', II, p. 220.

[240] *CSPV*, VII.649.

[241] Bellorini, 'Un medico italiano', p. 251.

[242] *CSPV*, VII. 649.

[243] D. Peck, ed., *Leicester's Commonwealth: The Copy of a Letter Written by a Master of Art of Cambridge (1584) and Related Documents* (Ohio, 1985), p. 82.

[244] *Ibid*., p. 82.

[245] Parks, 'The First Italianate Englishman', p. 210.

Franchiotto, warning of the danger of poison to the queen from 'strangers or suspicious persons' who were at that point in Italy.[246]

Despite these popular fears Italians were also trusted to care for the horses and other animals in the royal mews. Their expertise had long been sought in the care of horses and falcons; Thomas de la Croys came as an envoy from the Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, to Henry V in 1414 and in 1416 the Florentine John Victor covered Thomas' expenses in bringing horses to the king from overseas.[247] Again, it was during the reign of Henry VIII that Italian individuals came in greater numbers, particularly as a result of the exchange of gifts between the king and the princely rulers on the peninsula.[248] Hannibal Zinzano was Henry VIII's farrier; he was paid £8 18 shillings on 22 March 1531 for 'drynks and other medicines for the Kings horses',[249] and on an earlier occasion he was sent with the Duke of Ferrara's falconer to Yorkshire to buy horses for Alphonso d' Este.[250] His continued connections with Italy can be seen in the fact that the Ferrarese envoy noted 'what a loyal subject you have in the Kings farrier'.[251] Another individual was 'John de Naples', the keeper of 'oure lytle Jenet', a type of horse, who received clothing by warrant from the great wardrobe.[252] However, few were persuaded to stay in England permanently. Henry VIII tried to recruit the falconers Scaramuccia and Antonio Nannino, who had brought two peregrine falcons from Federigo Gonzaga in 1526, and he wrote to the marquis for permission to admit them to his household on the grounds that he had 'detained the falconers ... by reason of their skill in falconry, that the birds may be more carefully tended',[253] but their stay only lasted one year after the king accepted their petition to return to Italy in 1527.[254] He also tried to persuade the skilled horseman and Mantuan envoy Giovanni Ratto into his service but the Italian was able to refuse the invitation on the grounds that 'he

[246] *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury,* I, p. 361.

[247] Bradley, 'Italian Merchants in London', p. 248.

[248] For a full discussion of these gifts see Chapter 2. For a discussion of horsemanship at Henry VIII's court see G. Worsley, 'Henry's Flying Horses', *Country Life* , 185 (1991), p. 85.

[249] Hayward , *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, p. 275; Nicolas, *The Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 118.

[250] *CSPV*, VI.iii, Appendix 88.

[251] *CSPV*, VI.iii, Appendix 91.

[252] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, p. 276; TNA, E101/417/3, no.60.

[253] *CSPV*, III.1216.

[254] *CSPV*, IV.182.

preferred to serve [Henry] at Mantua rather than in England'.[255] For those who did remain in England it could be hard to leave. Matteo Cavallaro wrote a letter to the Duke of Mantua in January 1534 which explained that his son Giovan Matteo would have to pay his respects to the duke on his behalf since, although he had expected to obtain permission from the king to return home, it had been denied at the last moment, something that he put down to 'his too great importunity' which meant that Henry 'did not choose him to depart, so he remains and sends his son alone, God knows with how much regret'.[256] It is possible that he was still in service during Edward VI's reign because there are warrants for payments to 'Mathew de Mantua studman'.[257] This Matthew may also have been Edward's Italian riding master; in his 1551 *Relazione di Inghilterra* the Florentine Petruccio Ubaldini mentioned that an Italian was responsible for teaching the young king horsemanship and dancing.[258] In the second half of the sixteenth century print played a crucial role in the transmission of Italian techniques of horsemanship to England and the first English book on the subject was Blundeville's translation of Grisone, *c*. 1560.[259] However, the association of Italians and horses was also continued by individuals during Elizabeth's reign. For example, Claudio Corte, the author of *Il Cavallerizzo*, 1573, was employed by Robert Dudley.

Finally, Italians came into contact with the English court as soldiers. Although the vast majority of the auxiliaries and mercenaries who served Henry VIII were German, there were some Italians - in particular they were judged to make the best handgunners[260] - and in preparation for conflict with France, Henry went on a recruiting drive in Italy in the 1540s. Sir John Wallop was looking for foreign captains in 1543 and Alexandro Gonzaga, the bastard son of the Duke of Mantua, offered 4000 infantry and 300 mounted arquebusiers on two months notice.[261] Others whose services were engaged in

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[255] *CSPV*, II.438.

[256] *CSPV*, V.5.

[257] TNA, E101/426/6, f. 27; J. Loach, *Edward VI* (London, 1999), p. 154.

[258] Venice, Correr Library, Correr Cod. Cic. 2399, f. 22.

[259] Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance*, p. 70.

[260] G. Millar, 'Mercenaries and Auxiliaries: Foreign Soldiers in the Armies of Henry VII and Henry VIII, with Special Reference to Their Origins, Recruitment, and Employment in the French War of 1544-46', PhD Thesis (Louisiana State University, 1974), p. 105.

[261] *L&P*, XVIII.ii.385.

1544 and 1545 included Giovanni de Salerno, who was familiar with the fortifications of Montreuil and Boulogne,[262] and the captains Angelo Mariano of Cremona, Count Bernardo di San Bonifacio of Verona, Filippo Pini of Lucca and Ludovico de L'Armi of Bologna, who were commissioned to raise 30 companies, some foot and some horse, in the territory of the Venetians.[263] Filippo Pini went on to be made an esquire of the body in 1544.[264] However, as with the use of diplomat merchants, there was a certain pragmatic realism to their employment and Wallop noted that 'as for the Italians, it is evil meddling with them, having had good experience thereof this year to be either too wise or too false'.[265] The stresses caused by the gathering of large numbers of mercenaries in Calais during 1545 provides an alternative explanation for William Paget's request to Lord Cobham on 6 June of that year to 'send over no more strangers, and move the rest there to send none, for the King is not content',[266] which has often been used as an example of England's increasing isolation from Italian artists following the break with Rome.[267] This is supported by the fact that the context for the request was Cobham's commendation of John Baptista de Beni da Gobi, which caused Paget to 'marvel that, having been the occasion of the coming of so many with which all here are wearied, you continue sending them over whom we will as fast send back again'.[268]

The interaction of these individuals during the campaign against France had an interesting legacy. Some, such as Angelo Mariano of Cremona, maintained the connection and received pensions; Mariano was granted an annuity of £150 in 1545.[269] Others established themselves in England, such as Giovanni Battista Castiglione, and Petruccio Ubaldini. Edward VI also continued to recruit Italians; the expedition in Scotland led by Edward Seymour included a body of Italian heavy horse under the Italian colonel Count Malatesta Baglione and in the 1549 'Prayer book' rebellion the Italian horse and foot of captains Jacques Jermiguy and Paolo Baptista Spinola

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[262] Millar, 'Mercenaries and Auxiliaries', pp. 285-8; *L&P,* XIX.ii.97, 799.

[263] Millar, 'Mercenaries and Auxiliaries', p. 344.

[264] *L&P,* XIX.i.610(10).

[265] *L&P,* XVIII.ii.385.

[266] *L&P,* XX.i.877.

[267] For an example of this see Chaney, *The Evolution of English Collecting,* p. 31.

[268] *L&P,* XX.i.877.

[269] *Foedera,* H.VI.iii.124.

particularly distinguished themselves.[270] The latter was created a knight, and received an annuity of £125 in 1550.[271] The Count of Rangone, Ludovico Pallavicino**,** whose father was governor of Milan, resided at Edward's court and received a pension of 1000 crowns a year.[272]

During the reign of Elizabeth it was as practitioners of the art of fighting rather than as soldiers that Italians held a reputation for excellence. Fencing schools became popular and the instructor at one, Vincenzo Saviolo, was particularly praised. He was mentioned in Florio's *Second Frutes* as 'that Italian that looks like Mars himselfe'.[273] However, he was also notably praised for his dancing, patience and the fact that he was uninterested in revenge, which lead Florio's narrator in the *Second Frutes* to state that 'He should be no Italian then'.[274] This fits with the more general impression of such Italians in England in which praise of their skill went hand-in-hand with doubts about their morality. For example, pamphlets circulated against Italian fencing masters: 'oh you Italian teachers of defence, where are your stoccatas, imbroccatas, madritas, puntas and punta reverses… apish devices with all the rest of your squint-eyed tricks',[275] whilst in order to prevent public disturbance a proclamation enforcing statutes of apparel also included a restriction on the location of schools of fencing.[276]

Taken together, these myriad examples of Italians living and working around the court help demonstrate how the English impression of Italy was shaped. It is apparent that the employment of Italians had two main peaks: recruitment by Henry VIII, particularly as musicians and soldiers, and then their assimilation into some of the most private spaces

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[270] Millar, 'Mercenaries and Auxiliaries', pp. 430-1.

[271] Nichols, *Literary Remains*, I, p. cccviii; *Foedera*, H.VI.iii.195.

[272] *APC*, III, p. 7: 'assigned to him during his abode here in the Kinges Majesties service, aswell in respet of the yonge gentlemannes good will and towardenes as for the love of his father, being a noble man of Italie, and one that hath always borne unto the Kinges Majestie and his most noble father a singler affection'.

[273] Florio, *Second Frutes*, p. 117.

[274] *Ibid*., p. 119; S. Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven and London, 2000), p. 101. Florio may well have worked with Saviolo and translated his treatise, *Vincentio Saviolo his Practise* into English.

[275] J. Lees-Milne, *Tudor Renaissance* (London, 1951), p. 25.

[276] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, II, pp. 278-83.

of Elizabeth's court. By contrast, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, Henry VII interacted to a far greater extent with individuals who were acting in a role that defined their separateness - his contact with Italians was dominated by encounters with visiting ecclesiastics, ambassadors and envoys. For Edward and Mary what is notable is the way in which there was a continued Italian presence in England despite the religious turmoil of their reigns; as useful guests Catholic Italians were never compelled to leave, whilst the Italian Protestant community quickly assumed roles that gave them similar status without ever growing large enough to incite the ire of the city. As will be shown these were the individuals who were responsible for bringing items of Italian material culture to the Tudor monarchs.

Chapter 2
Gifts and Diplomacy

One of the means by which Italian material culture was acquired by the Tudor monarchs was through the receipt of gifts. Such objects may represent only a tiny fraction of the works that are listed in inventories of royal possessions but they, and the circumstances in which they were given, provide tangible evidence of the diplomatic channels that connected the English Crown to the rulers of the Italian peninsula. Understanding the term 'gift' in an anthropological sense makes it possible to use these exchanges to explore the relationships that the Tudor monarchs had with Italian rulers. At the same time the nature of the objects that were given offers insight into the depth of these relationships; for example, the exchange of hunting animals can be contrasted with the specific commission of a work of art. Gifts also demonstrate the necessary involvement of agents as intermediaries, who could provide information on the individual tastes of the recipient. The gifts act as markers, both of personal favour and of events such as diplomatic exchanges, embassies and dynastic marriages. The receipt of gifts could also prompt commissions and purchases of more Italian works, and the hiring of Italian artists and artisans, and thus plays a crucial role in the analysis of the position of Italian material culture in England.

The interaction of the Tudor monarchs with the rulers of the Italian peninsula was shaped to a great extent by the context of the Italian wars and Anglo-French relations. Charles VIII's invasion in 1494 to claim the throne of Naples for France disrupted the fragile balance of power between the Italian states that had been established at the Peace of Lodi in 1454. Although he did not remain long on the peninsula, a dominant French presence in the region was viewed by the rulers of other Italian states as unacceptable in the long-term. A league formed against the French, to which both the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian and Ferdinand of Aragon offered material aid, and this heralded increased Hapsburg and Spanish involvement in Italian affairs, beyond the well-

established Aragonese claim to Naples.[1] Henry VII chose not to make a commitment of troops or money to the League but succeeded in leveraging England's geopolitical situation to get the members to drop all military obligations and recreate the Holy League as a strictly political alliance, illustrating how England could play a key role in Italian affairs.[2] Ultimately the Italian peninsula came to be perceived as 'the seat of European supremacy' and an ever-changing pattern of alliances developed as France and Spain battled for dominance.[3] In this arena the potential threat that England could always pose to France enabled the Tudor monarchs to carve out a role on the peninsula, countering their physical distance. Their success can be explored through the objects that were presented by the rulers of the fragmented peninsula, the gifts given by popes, princes, and senators, as well as the monarchs of France and Spain, in order to secure English support.

The term 'gift' is loaded with significance. Following Mauss' ground-breaking examination of the role of the gift in the articulation of the social order of archaic societies, the term requires definition when used in an historical context.[4] The concept of the gift as an agent of social cohesion was first theorised by Aristotle in the *Nichomachean Ethics*: humans are held together by reciprocity.[5] The tripartite structure of the gift - to give, to receive, and to reciprocate - was identified by Mauss, but it was also a structure that was understood in the sixteenth century, and was demonstrated using the allegory of the Three Graces, in which one of the circling sisters gives, the other receives and the third reciprocates, creating a cycle of mutual advantage.[6] What

[1] For a contemporary account of this tumultuous period in the history of the Italian peninsula, and of the changing alliances that occurred as a result of the French and Spanish campaigns, see Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia.*

[2] J.M. Currin, 'Henry VII, France and the Holy League of Venice: The Diplomacy of Balance', *Historical Research*, 82.217 (2009), pp. 526-46.

[3] R. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France 1483-1610* (London, 1996), p. 237.

[4] M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, I. Cunnison, trans. (London, 1966). The use of Mauss' approach here is not intended to imply that gift-giving operated under a formal code of conduct in sixteenth-century Europe.

[5] Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, with an English translation by H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA, 1926), p. 281.

[6] N. Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000), p. 19.

separates this obligation to give something back in return from the concept of contractual exchange in the marketplace is that the return is not precisely defined in advance; this 'spirit' of the gift has been described as 'the notion of gratitude that engenders obligation'.[7]

Another of Mauss' insights is that while gift exchange appears to be spontaneous and disinterested it is in fact obligatory and self-interested, and that reciprocal obligations can create a personal bond between the participants in the exchange. Finally there is an inherent inequality between the donor and the recipient, which allows gift-giving to be either non-antagonistic or antagonistic. Non-antagonistic gift-giving involves the near immediate reciprocation of a counter-gift, which is not a senseless exchange in which nothing is gained by either participant but a means by which 'two social relationships, identical but going in opposite directions have been produced and are linked to each other, thus binding two individuals or two groups into a twin relationship of reciprocal dependence'.[8] By contrast, the goal of antagonistic gift-giving is to create a debt where it is difficult or impossible to give back the equivalent, and thus places the recipient in the lasting debt of the donor, making him lose face publicly and affirming for as long as possible the superiority of the donor.[9]

The importance of reciprocity was well understood during the sixteenth century and had a profound influence on the form that gifts took. Horses and hunting animals were common gifts because good horsemanship was viewed as a princely virtue, and hunting was viewed as the sport of kings.[10] They were also suitable because they were immediately useful, which adhered to the Senecan premise of gifts, as explained by

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[7] *Ibid*., p. 14.

[8] M. Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 44.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 56.

[10] Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 228. The report of Adam von Zwetkovich, Baron von Mitterburg, who was in England in 1565 to conduct the negotiations on behalf of the Archduke Charles for marriage to Elizabeth, included the instruction that 'His Princely Highness ... should no longer make use of hacks or palfreys, but of fiery steeds such as are used for hunting. Your Imperial Majesty should therefore present him with a docile hunter which he should try to ride as he did the vicious grey. He would then be considered the best rider in the world and would thereby gain more glory than by the possession of millions of gold'.

Dante, that 'in order for the gift to make the recipient a friend, it should be useful to him, because the utility seals the memory of the image of the gift, which is the food of friendship, and the greater the utility, the stronger the friendship'.[11] Horses and hunting animals could also be readily exchanged, like for like, whereas objects sometimes proved to be problematic gifts due to the unavailability of artisans to create a return gift of similar status. This can be understood as one of the factors encouraging the employment of craftsmen from continental Europe at the English court. For example, the catalyst for Henry VII's hiring of the artist Maynard as a portraitist was the receipt of portraits from the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, which he could not reciprocate, when they came to England in 1496 to negotiate the *Magnus Intercursus*.[12] Similarly, Henry VIII's recruitment of Milanese and German armourers was not only prompted by his desire for a personal supply of fine-quality armour, but also because it was a suitable object to be exchanged with princes.[13]

The attention paid to reciprocity can be seen in the exchanges between Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520. Their meeting was to be an act of reconciliation between the two realms, and the lavish setting was recorded in the painting *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* (Fig. 24). This was likely commissioned at some point late in Henry VIII's reign. It is a synthesis of the main events and depicts the English procession to the interview, the actual meeting between the two kings within a pavilion set in the Val d'Or, a single episode from the tilting, the flying dragon firework, and the English temporary palace that stood throughout the festival.[14] Many of the details compare favourably with the ambassadorial reports that described the events. However, there are some errors, including the depiction of Henry: the English king wore cloth of silver to the first meeting, and rode a bay horse but in the painting he wears cloth of gold and rides a white horse.[15] In relation to a discussion of Italian

[11] Dante Alighieri, *Convivio*, F. Ageno, ed., 2 vols. (Florence, 1995), p. 35, cited in J. Bestor, 'Marriage Transactions in Renaissance Italy and Mauss's Essay on the Gift', *Past and Present*, 164 (1998), p. 46.

[12] Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour*, p. 52.

[13] C. Blair, 'The Emperor Maximilian's Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII and the Silvered and Engraved Armour at the Tower of London', *Archaeologia*, 99 (1965), p. 32.

[14] S. Anglo, 'The Hampton Court Painting of the Field of Cloth of Gold Considered as an Historical Document', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 46 (1966), p. 287.

[15] *Ibid*., pp. 287-307; *CSPV*, III.73.

material culture the painting depicts three key things: the lavish textiles, the English temporary palace, and the horses that were necessary for chivalric display. In each of these areas Henry sought to compete with Francis using Italian items, and this use of Italy in Anglo-French exchanges is an issue that will also be discussed in relation to both the specific purchase of Italian material culture and to the employment of Italian artisans. The display and exchange of Italian material culture had an interesting political context – the stability of the French position in Milan.[16] In the terms of reciprocity in gift exchange the horses provide the most illuminating example. Within the environment of competitive magnificence each monarch sought to ensure that all gift exchanges were firmly non-antagonistic and that neither one eclipsed the other.[17] During one meeting Henry gave Francis a jewelled collar, taken from his own neck, and Francis reciprocated with a jewelled bracelet. However, this was of a lesser value and Francis felt compelled to enhance the gift, and thus maintain the reciprocal balance, by giving six horses to Henry the following morning, four of which came from Mantua.[18] At a later point, when the kings took leave of each other, Henry spoke admiringly of the French king's horse, Dappled Duke, from the Mantuan stud, and 'the most Christian King made him a present of it, dismounting on the spot, and thus they exchanged steeds; the most Christian King accepting as a gift the one ridden by the King of England, which was a Neapolitan courser, but far inferior to Dappled Duke'.[19] This final report, by Soardino, the Mantuan ambassador at the French court, demonstrates how the ritual exchanges were keenly observed and analysed; his view, however, of the imbalance of the exchange was probably coloured by the fact that Francis had originally received Dappled Duke in Milan as a gift from the Marquis of Mantua, to whose son Soardino was writing, for the Neapolitan courser enjoyed a reputation as a fine heavy cavalry

[16] Thomas, *The History of Italy*, p. 112. Such was the fame of the Duchy of Milan that Thomas wrote that 'as for the richesse and beauty of the country, I am afeared to speak of, lest to him that never saw it I should seem overlarge in the due praising of it'.

[17] The importance of equality in gift giving provides the context for the story that at one point Francis I gave Henry VIII a painting by Leonardo da Vinci and Henry reciprocated with a work by Holbein. This is recounted in C. Patin, *Pitture scelte e dichiarate* (Cologne, 1691) p. 36, but there is no evidence that such an exchange took place.

[18] *CSPV*, III.50.

[19] *CSPV*, III.81.

Fig. 24: British School, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, oil on canvas, *c*. 1545, The Royal Collection, RCIN 405794.

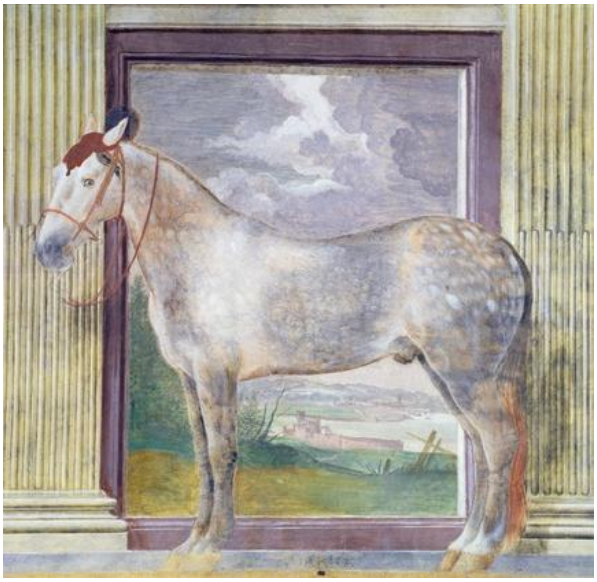

Fig. 25: Giulio Romano, *Dario*, detail from the *Sala dei Cavalli*, fresco, 1526-8, Palazzo Te, Mantua.

Fig. 26: Filippo Orsoni, *A Mantuan Courser*, pen, ink and wash, 1554, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.1737-1929.

mount.[20] By 1520 the superiority of horses bred on the Italian peninsula was well known in England, in part through the receipt of gifts of horses from Italian rulers who had been made Knights of the Order of the Garter, and their exchange at the Field of the Cloth of Gold demonstrates the extent to which they had become international signifiers of magnificence.[21]

The example of the Field of the Cloth of Gold shows how gift exchange could be used in the sixteenth century to provide the occasion for the public visualisation of diplomatic negotiations. Of central importance was that it allowed both parties to present themselves as equals, who could each offer the other assistance. This aspect allowed non-antagonistic, reciprocal exchange to act as a useful means of creating personal relationships between rulers, illustrating the anthropological premise that 'to receive a gift means that one is desirous of entering into and remaining in partnership'.[22] That this was understood in the sixteenth century is shown in a letter from Sir William Paget to Lord Protector Somerset, written whilst he was negotiating an alliance with Charles V against France, in which he suggested that horses should be sent to the emperor in Edward VI's name because 'sometimes such trifles stir more occasions of friendships than greater matters or practices do'.[23] These exchanges can, therefore, be used to explore England's relationship with some of the Italian princely states, and can be contrasted with the inherent imbalance of the 'partnership' that arose when low status individuals presented gifts in order to gain royal patronage.

Much of the correspondence surrounding gifts makes explicit the desire of the participants to use them to create a personal bond. The language also suggests that the term 'gift' may, under certain conditions, have had the connotations of a bribe in the

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[20] *CSPV*, III.73; P. Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 40; Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 1 Scene 2. Portia describes her Neapolitan suitor with the words 'Ay, that's a colt indeed, for he doth nothing but talk of his horse'.

[21] L. Jardine and J. Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (London, 2000), pp. 145-51. The status of horses, and their circulation between Eastern and Western Europe, is discussed by the authors, who argue 'that representations of power and a vivid shared aesthetic combined in fine breeds of horses'.

[22] Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 25.

[23] *CSPF*, 1547-53, 17, pp. 40-1.

sixteenth century and so the accompanying letters occasionally stressed the disinterested nature of the exchange. In 1498 Henry VII sent two horses to Ercole d' Este in Ferrara, clearly stating in the accompanying letter that 'we sent your Highness two, not as a gift, but that you may accept them as a certain pledge and testimony of our especial and fraternal love for you'.[24] Similarly Henry VIII sent certain horses to Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d' Este in Mantua in 1514, requesting 'both one and the other to accept them, not indeed as a gift but as a slight mark of good will'.[25] This distinction between gifts and pledges, however, becomes less noticeable once the relationship had been established and the gifts were being diligently reciprocated.

The exchanges between the rulers of Mantua and the English crown offer the clearest example of a relationship being developed and maintained through Anglo-Italian gifts. They illustrate how the choice of gift was not only influenced by convention but also by a genuine desire to send something that would be appreciated. Mantua had been ruled by the Gonzaga since the fourteenth century, and Gianfrancesco Gonzaga was granted the marquisate in 1433 by the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismond. Henry VIII's 1514 gift had been in response to the sending of Giovanni Ratto as an envoy to England by Francesco II Gonzaga with a gift of horses through which 'the Marquis merely sought his Majesty's love'.[26] These animals were suitable gifts because of the skill that was involved in breeding good cavalry mounts, a skill in which the Gonzaga were acknowleged masters throughout Europe. Ratto's despatch exemplified both the courting of a monarch who sought a role as an arbiter of peace in Europe, and the fact that in Henry the marquis perceived that England had a king who was worthy of such gifts. Eight years earlier Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino and Francesco II Gonzaga's brother-in-law, requested some horses and falcons from the marquis that could be sent as a gift to Henry VII following Guidobaldo's investiture into the Order of the Garter. Francesco's reply showed that he was unwilling to send a prize horse, Non ci pensar, from his stud, on the grounds that he had heard from the Duke of Ferrara, another brother-in-law, that the English did not appreciate good coursers – a type of

[24] *CSPV*, VI.iii, Appendix 72, p. 1603.

[25] *CSPV*, II.462.

[26] *CSPV*, II.434.

horse bred for war and jousting.[27] Only Guidobaldo's quick letter in reply persuaded Francesco to send the animal. The Duke of Urbino explained that he was greatly surprised by the marquis' opinion, since he had heard from Ferdinand of Aragon, King of Naples, and from the previous Duke of Ferrara, as well as his own father, that the English king had been most gratified by their gifts of horses.[28] However, this letter appears to have been only partially succesful, because when the horse was picked up by the envoy from Urbino, Baldassare Castiglione, it was discovered to be almost completely blind and was, therefore, deemed an unsuitable gift and returned to Mantua.[29]

By contrast, in 1514 Henry was a key player in the pope's plans to broker a European peace: the marquis' ambassador in Rome, Archdeacon Alessandro Gabioneta had reported that all rested on Henry.[30] Ratto's English trip had also been triggered by the arrival in Mantua of an English envoy, Thomas Cheney, specifically to look for

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[27] ASMn, A.G. b. 2914, ff. 2v-3: 'Dio sa quanto voluntieri havimo servito Vostra Signoria de un bon corsiero da mandar a donare al Re di Ingliterra, che forsi niun altra persona non mi haria privati de cossi electa cosa. L'e ben il vero che mi rincresceria che 'l fosse gettato via, e che 'l si levasse di loco ove l'e ben stimato e cognosciuto per andar ove non fosse aprezato nulla. Questo dicemi perche dal Signor Duca di Ferrara, dal Coglia suo maestro di stalla e da ogni altro che sia stato in quelle parti, intendimo non si fa un conto al mondo de boni corseri; la anci sono in vile reputatione...'.

[28] ASMn, A.G., b. 1068, c. 387: 'Quanto specta a la parte che lei me scrive dubitare che questo corsiero non sia gectato via, havendo ad andare in Inghilterra dove non sonno aprezati simili cavalli, grandemente me maraviglio de tale opinione, per essere io informato totalmente in contrario et sapendo che la felice recordatione del Re Ferdinando, quando hebbe questo ordine de la girratera, non mando altro presente che cavalli grossi ad quello Serenissimo Re. Similmente la bona memoria del signor mio padre et lo Illustrissimo signor Duca de Ferrara passato, mandorono pur cavalli a la Maesta de quello Re, sapendo che simil dono era gratissimo a Sua Maesta'.

[29] B. Castiglione, *Tutte le opere di Baldassare Castiglione,* G. La Rocca, ed., Vol. I: *Le Lettere* (Milan, 1978), p. 94. One of the falcons had died and 'oltra di questo, el baio non c'è pensare: molto ha temuto el viaggio fin qui, *maxime* a la vista, de modo che questi marascalchi credeno, s'io lo conduco in là, che'l la debia perdere in tutto. Io non li sono mancato e non manco de ogni diligntia possible: pur sto in grandissimo despiacere, sapendo la bontà del cavallo. Et essendo de la razza de Vostra Exelentia, me pareria, conducendolo in là mal condicionato, de non far quello honore a quella, ch'io designavo, et anchor mi rincresce tropo privarne la Ex^{tia} Vostra senza utilità né honor di quella, né del Signore Duca.'

[30] ASMn, A.G., b. 862, c. 33v: 'me pare che dalla autorita et potentiale de questo re siano per dependere tute le cose de Christianita'.

horses.[31] Such obvious interest in, and implied respect for, the Mantuan stud on the part of the English king prompted Francesco to send four horses, Altobello, Governatore, Castano and Saltasbarra, the 'flower of his stable', as a gift to Henry.[32] The esteem in which such horses were held can be seen in the *Sala dei Cavalli* at the Palazzo Te. Built by Federico II Gonzaga on the site of one of the family's stables on the outskirts of Mantua, the largest room in the palace was decorated between 1526 and 1528 with portraits of six of the marquis' favourite horses, including the *leardo* Dario (Fig. 25), a similar dappled grey to Altobello and Saltasbarra. Such was the care that the Gonzaga took of their horses that, after failing to convince Cheney to travel to England via Trento rather than Switzerland, they despatched Ratto and the horses on the former route with plans to meet Cheney on the other side of the mountains.[33] Thus formal diplomatic contact, through an envoy, was initiated by the necessity of taking proper care of the gift of horses. Ratto reported on the success of the gifts in England, describing how Henry could not have been more pleased 'had he been sent a kingdom', and how one of the French hostages present at the English court had stated that there were no such horses at the French court, an interesting precursor to the later competitive gift exchanges of Italian horses with Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.[34] The cycle of reciprocity unfolded with Henry's dispatch of some hobbies, a small fast breed of horse which was native to Ireland.[35] A letter from Francesco II to his son Federico in 1516 mentions that a horse born on St. George's day had been set aside as a suitable gift

[31] ASMn, A.G., b.2921, L.231, c. 86v: 'Le venuto qui un Camerero del Re dangliterra che viene da Roma quale n'ha ricercati di qualche cavalli in nome del suo Re. Noi per la reverentia che ne par di dover haver a Sua Maesta, havemo deliberato metterlo ad eletta di tutti gli migliori che havemo'.

[32] ASMn, A.G., b. 2921, L.234, c. 8: 'quattro cavalli quali veramente erano il fior de la nostra stalla ... gli nomi loro sono lo leardo altobello, lo baglio castano, lo Morello Governatore, et lo leardo saltasbarra'.

[33]ASMn, A.G., b. 2921, L. 232, c. 62.

[34] ASMn, A.G., b. 578, c. 86:'Se la Signoria Vostra li havese donato uno riamo non lo arebe auto puio a piacere di quelo che avuto Sua Maista; et quando io li mostraie, iubilava di alegreca et andavemo da l'une et da latro di quele signore dicede "che ve ne pare di queste cavalle?" et diceva a quele signori "me li a mandato uno cusino, lo marchiso de Mantua" ... et li era uno signore franceso quale si ciama lo ducha de Altavita, quale fu preso quando fu preso trono, et luio diceve ala Maistate sua non avere a la corte del re di Francia simile cavalle di tanta bontate'.

[35] C. Gladitz, *Horse Breeding in the Medieval World* (Dublin, 1997), p. 145.

for the English king.[36] This was possibly an attempt to solicit membership of the Order of the Garter, of which St. George was patron. However, it does not appear to ever have been sent to England. In subsequent years horses, dogs and falcons travelled between the two rulers accompanied by letters pledging personal affection.[37] Within this context it is also interesting to note the possibility that the peregrine falcons involved in some of these exchanges may have had a symbolic value to the English. Henry's reply to the marquis that his gifts 'were continually under his eyes and His Excellency was in his heart as they reminded him of you' could be interpreted as a reference to the Book of St. Albans.[38] This work was a compilation of tracts on hawking, hunting and heraldry, printed towards the end of the fifteenth century, and at the end of the section on hawking a list appeared, which associated different kinds of bird with different social ranks: from an eagle for an emperor to a hoby for a young man.[39] In this work a peregrine falcon was appropriate for an earl, which fell in status between a duke and a baron, a similar position to a marquis.[40]

The Italian horses that arrived in England were highly prized and formed the foundation of the royal racing stables; they stood apart from the vast majority of English royal purchases of horses, which were made from the Low Countries.[41] The complimentary Italian appreciation of English breeds, which were smaller and, therefore, deemed suitable for drawing carriages and for women and children to ride, ensured that the exchanges continued late into the sixteenth century. For example, Roberto Ridolfi wrote to Francesco de' Medici in 1565 suggesting that in order to obtain some horses from

[36] ASMn, A.G., b. 2122, c. 61v: 'Tra gli altri ne uno che nacque il di di san zorzo bellissimo: quale volemo donar al Re d'angliterra per esser nato il di di quel santo che precipuamente et in veneratione in Anglia'.

[37] *CSPV*, IV.840.

[38] ASMn, A.G., b. 578, c. 16: 'essi doni et officii versono continuamente inanti alli ochii nostri, et Vostra Exellentia nel nostro core, e fanno che in ogni momento ce recordano di Voi, et che ve referimo perpetue gratie...'. This letter was written in Italian by Henry's Latin secretary Andrea Ammonio.

[39] *The Boke of Saint Albans, Reproduced in Facsimile with an introduction by William Blades* (London, 1901), unnumbered folio.

[40] *Ibid*., unnumbered folio.

[41] Edwards, *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 41.

England, he should send Elizabeth some horses from Naples, or even a pair of lions.[42] However, this suggested gift was prompted more by the desire for acquisition than in order to create a personal relationship with the English queen. In material terms, the arrival of horses, hunting dogs, and hawks also exposed the English court to Italian fashions through their trappings and schooling; for example, the gift of two horses from Alfonso d' Este, Duke of Ferrara, in 1519, following a visit by the English envoy Gregorio Casali to Ferrara, was accompanied by two hundred patterns for bridles.[43] Similarly, in the case of the blind horse from Mantua that was not ultimately taken to England, Castiglione twice wrote to his mother to ensure that the saddle and trappings were taken care of, and that the ironwork was not allowed to rust, so that they could be returned in good condition with the horse.[44] The ornate nature of such trappings can be seen in Filippo Orsoni's depiction of a Mantuan courser (Fig. 26), although it must be noted that this dates from the mid-sixteenth century.

Horses and hunting animals formed the vast majority of Italian gifts to England, however, there were some examples of other objects too. This reflects an understanding on the part of the Italian rulers of Henry VIII's tastes, and of the specific artisanal skills for which their regions were famed. These did not necessarily form patterns of reciprocal exchange but were tokens denoting a more personal connection between donor and recipient than would be achieved by simple correspondence. For example, in October 1517, Henry VIII received a lute from Alfonso d' Este which was brought to England by Giovanni Pietro de Bustis, an Italian musician in Henry's employ who had been sent to Mantua and Ferrara bearing letters from the king. The gift was accompanied by a letter from the duke, which was resonant with the language of gifts. It stated that:

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[42] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 516a**.**

[43] *L&P*, III.i.171.

[44] Castiglione, *Tutte le opere*, I, p. 136**: '**Vorei che ... su questa nae mandasse quelle barde, e fornimenti da cavallo, ch'io lasciae lì, che doveano andar in Inghilterra, e sella et ogni cosa: e per Dia, che non se guastino, e che Zo Martino li habi bona cura'. See also *Ibid*, I, p. 98: 'Quella sella che è sopra detto cavallo, e li guarnimenti tutti, e la testera, e quella coperta de panno prego ... che li voglia far governare *cum* diligentia, e *maxime* la sella: che li ferri non aruginiscano. El cavallo se rimanderà secundo che nui lo havessimo, excetto che, forsi, de la sanità'.

> Lord John Peter your servant and musician, gave me your most Serene Majesty's letters and he explained to me most fully in words with what great affection your majesty regards me, and how much he seeks to benefit and gratify me, so much that I feel I owe so much to your Majesty that I am not able to repay it, though it is most certainly my intention that my loyalty, service and regard towards your Majesty should be so great and of such quality that it will always outstrip any favours you may confer on me.[45]

The lute was chosen after being pointed out to Giovanni Pietro, who suggested it as a gift for the king, and the duke dispatched it with the proviso that 'although it is made very elegantly [it] does not, however, seem to me worthy of a great prince and therefore I ask your Majesty that you may deign to accept not the worth of the gift, which is small, but the sincere faith and boundless good will of the sender'.[46] The presentation of the gift shows a willingness on Alfonso d' Este's part to maximise any connection made through correspondence, and since Henry's skill in music was well known, the presentation of an instrument carried the weight of a personal token.[47] This could be the same lute that was stored with a gitterne, in a timber chest covered in leather, which was recorded separately from the main group of lutes amongst the musical instruments at Whitehall in 1542 and1547.[48]

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[45] I. Mumford, 'The Identiy of 'Zuan Piero', *Renaissance News*, 2 (1958), p. 181; *Foedera*, H.VI.i.138: 'Reddidit mihi Serenissimae Majestatis vestrae Literas Dominus Johannes Petrus ejus Familiaris & Musicus, narravitque diligenter verbo tenus quanto Amore ipsa Majestas vestra me prosequatur, vel quantoperè mihi benefacere & gratificari desyderet, adeò quod eidem Majestati vestrae Me tantum debere sentio, ut reipsa solvendo non sim, certissimum cùm est animi mei Fidem, Studium & Observantiam erga vestram Majestatem tantem ac talem esse ut a nullis unquam Beneficiis posit superari'.

[46] Mumford, 'The Identity of Zuan Piero', p. 182; *Foedera*, H.VI.i.138: 'Quae, quamvis elegantissime fabrefacta sit, non tamen tanto Principe digni Mihi videtur; proindeque rogo ut Majestas vestia non Muneris exiguitatem sed mittentis sinceram fidem ac animum ingentem hilariter suscipere dignetur'.

[47] Brown, *Four Years*, I, p. 76. Giustinian reported that 'this most serene King is not only very expert in arms, and of great valour, and most excellent in his personal endowments, but is likewise so gifted and adorned with mental accomplishments of every sort that we believe him to have few equals in the world. He speaks English, French, and Latin; understands Italian well; plays almost on every instrument; sings and composes fairly; is prudent and sage, and free from every vice'.

[48] *1542 Inventory*, no. 920; *1547 Inventory*, no. 11904.

Similarly, Agostino Scarpinello, Milanese ambassador in England, recommended to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, that he send Henry VIII arms, for which Milan was an acclaimed manufacturing centre, as well as horses and hawks, as a means to 'secure the protection of the king'.[49] The objects that arrived were unlikely to have been specifically commissioned for the English court but had nonetheless been manufactured to a standard high enough to make them a suitable gift, and they reveal a certain degree of knowledge of Henry VIII's personal tastes, which would have arrived in Italy from the various envoys who visited the English court. Interestingly, the same Milanese report also recommended sending Cardinal Wolsey a pension of 12,000 ducats in order to achieve similar ends, suggesting that there was some difference in the decorum of sending gifts to monarchs - the value had to be contained within the object, either in the materials or the level of skill, rather than presented as a direct cash payment. Within this context the gift of jewels, which were of high value and easily transferable, often came under scrutiny by ambassadors at court. This is evident in Andrea Badoer and Sebastiano Giustinian's report to the Venetian Senate that Ferdinand of Spain had given Henry VIII a jewelled collar, two horses and a valuable sword. They stated that whilst the opinion of Cardinal Wolsey was that the present was worth 100,000 ducats and that the English king deserved it for all that he had done for Spain, rumours abounded that the collar was sent as a pledge, in order to secure funds from Henry to support the invasion of France.[50] Giustinian was later able to confirm that the collar was 'not sent as a gift, but as security for the moneys to be disbursed'.[51] Thus the ideal gifts with which to form personal relationships between rulers were those that could be directly exchanged, such as horses, or examples of regional manufacturing excellence, since they could not be viewed as a financial transaction, or bribes, by the many observers at the English court.

The fact that gifts can provide tangible evidence of Anglo-Italian relations was long used to account for the presence in England of Raphael's painting of *St. George and the Dragon*, which is now at the National Gallery of Art in Washington (Fig. 27). In the

[49] *CSPV*, IV.70.

[50] *CSPV*, II. 653.

[51] *CSPV* II. 669.

nineteenth century Passavant linked the work to the investiture of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, into the Order of the Garter in 1506, and as a result it was believed to be the first Italian Renaissance painting owned by a Tudor monarch.[52] The duke had been elected into the order by Henry VII in 1504 in order to take advantage of the fact that his adopted heir, his nephew Francesca Maria della Rovere, was also nephew to the recently elected pope, Julius II.[53] This gave Henry a possible route by which to influence the pope, at a time when the English king was looking for papal dispensation to allow the future Henry VIII to marry Katherine of Aragon after the death of Prince Arthur. Following a ceremony in Rome, Baldassare Castiglione was sent as the duke's proxy for installation into the order, which took place at St George's Chapel, Windsor. Although the horse Non ci pensar did not arrive with Castiglione, Guidobaldo's letter to his brother-in-law, which had explained the suitability of the gift of a horse, mentioned that it would be 'amongst other gifts'.[54] The possibility that these could have included the Raphael painting is based on the fact that St. George is depicted wearing a garter around his left leg on which can be seen the word 'HONI', presumably in reference to the order's motto 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'.[55] However, there is no supporting evidence for this supposition and the painting does not appear to correspond with any of the references to paintings of St. George in the 1542 and 1547 inventories of the possessions of Henry VIII. [56] Whilst it is evident that the painting was in the collection of Charles I - it was copied in an engraving by Lucas Vosterman in 1627 - it had come into his possession through the Earl of Pembroke, in exchange for a book of Holbein drawings, and there is no explanation of how it could have left the Royal

[52] J.D. Passavant, *Raphaël d'Urbin et son père, Giovanni Santi*, ed. P. Lacroix, 2 vols. (Paris, 1860), II, pp. 42-3.

[53] C. Clough, 'The Relations between the English and Urbino Courts, 1474-1508', *Studies in the Renaissance,* 14 (1967), p. 213.

[54] ASMn, A.G., b. 1068, c. 387: '... tra li altri presenti qualche cavallo grosso seria aceptissimo a la presenta Maesta'.

[55] J. Zur Capellan, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of the Paintings* (Munster, 2001), *I: The Beginnings in Umbria and Florence ca. 1500-1508*, p. 195.

[56] H. Ettlinger, 'The Question of St. George's Garter', *Burlington Magazine*, 125 (1983), pp. 25-9.

Fig. 27: Raphael, *St. George and the Dragon*, oil on panel, *c*. 1506, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Collection 1937.1.26.

Fig. 28: Venice, Glass vase with a portrait of Henry VII, *c*. 1500, British Museum, M&ME 1979.4-1,1.

Collection in the sixteenth century.[57] A more likely explanation is that the *St. George* was actually given to Sir Gilbert Talbot by Castiglione on his way to London via Calais, where Talbot was Deputy.[58] This would have been in recognition of Talbot's role as the Garter Knight sent to Rome in 1504 to invest the Duke of Urbino as a Knight of the Order of the Garter. The painting would then have passed by inheritance to the Earl of Pembroke.[59] That a painting could have been given to Talbot, whilst horses were sent to the king, is indicative of the esteem in which certain Italian items were held.[60] A horse was particularly suitable for presentation to the head of a chivalric order, whereas the Raphael only came to prominence in England over a century later when Italian paintings had become desirable objects at court. A further object to be associated with Castiglione's visit to England, and which could have been one of the 'other gifts', is an opaque Venetian *lattimo* glass vase (Fig. 28).[61] The gilt and enamelled decoration on the vase includes a bust of Henry VII in profile and a depiction of the Beaufort portcullis. Its form is reminiscent of the pottery of north-west Europe and thus seems likely to have been a specific commission for a non-Italian audience. The vase has been dated to the time of Castiglione's visit because of the inclusion of the profile portrait, which was depicted on English coins between 1504 and 1509.[62] The novelty of the glass, and its imitation of exotic porcelain, would have made it a suitable gift for a king; however, as will be discussed, the English monarchs had well-established diplomatic and trading links with Venice and thus the vase could well have come to England through more direct channels, rather than via the Duke of Urbino.

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[57] L. Whitaker and M. Clayton, *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection: Renaissance and Baroque* (London, 2007), p. 12.

[58] C. Clough, 'Sir Gilbert Talbot, K.G., and Raphael's Washington "St. George"', *Report of the Society of the Friends of St. George's and the Descendants of the Knights of the Garter*, 6.6 (1984-1985), p. 247.

[59] *Ibid*., pp. 242-54.

[60] This is particularly true of England, for the contrasting situation in France see J. Cox –Rearick, 'Sacred to Profane: Diplomatic Gifts of the Medici to Francis I', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance* Studies, 24 (1994), p. 241. Following the Battle of Marignano in 1515 various Italian states chose to send paintings to Francis I. For example in 1519 Francesco Gonzaga sent Lorenzo Costa's *Venus with a Cornucopia* to the French king after receiving a letter from his envoy that 'Sua Maestade mi disse che voluntieri haverebe una sua qualche figura nuda hover una qualche Venere'.

[61] Starkey, *Henry VIII: A European Court*, p. 35.

[62] H. Tait, *The Golden Age of Venetian Glass* (London, 1979), p. 122.

Fig. 29: The Newberry Partbooks, late 1520s, Newberry Library, Chicago, MS-VM 1578.M91.

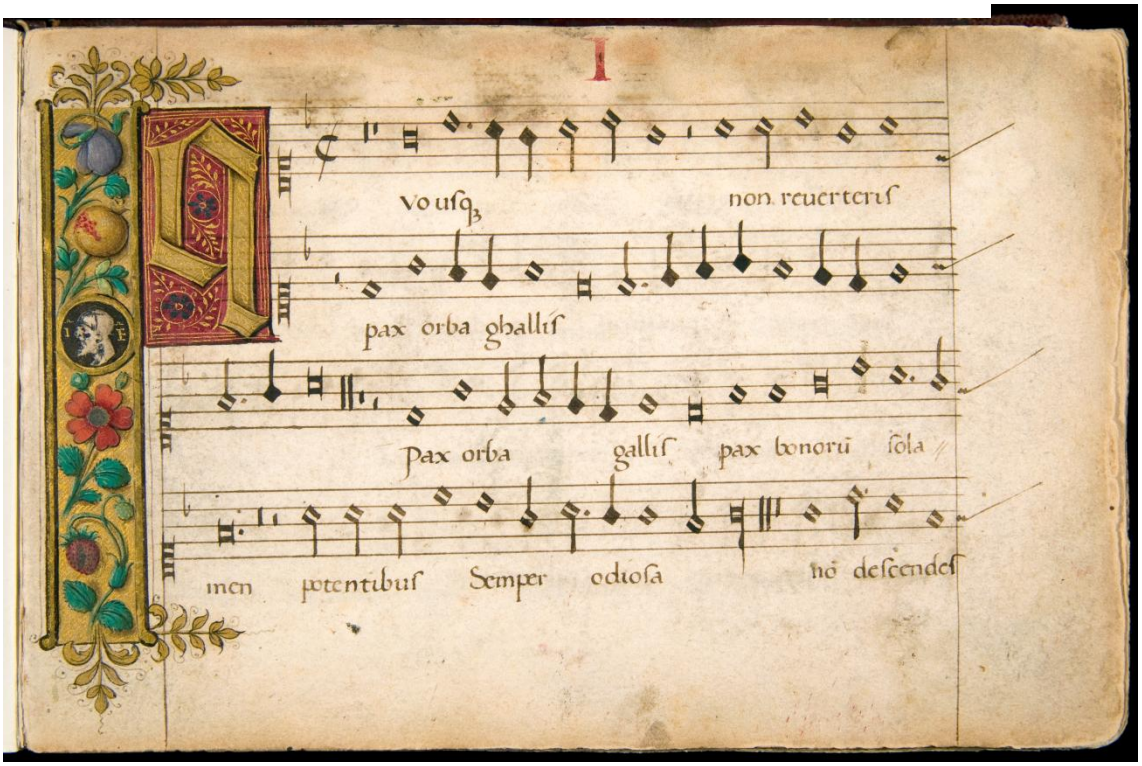

Fig. 30: *Cantus*, f. 1, The Newberry Partbooks, late 1520s, Newberry Library, Chicago, MS-VM 1578.M91.

There is an example of a set of objects commissioned as a gift for the English king that is supported by a greater degree of evidence. In the Newberry Library in Chicago there are four illustrated partbooks, bound in morocco leather (Fig. 29).[63] Each contains one of the voice parts for a collection of motets and madrigals: *Cantus*, *Tenor*, *Bassus*, and *Quintus et VI*. The fifth volume, *Altus*, is in the library of Oscott College, Sutton Coldfield.[64] The elaborate illuminations have been attributed to the Florentine artist Giovanni Boccardi, particularly through the presence of naturalistic cameo heads in the borders, whilst the music was composed by the Frenchman, Philippe Verdelot, who was active in Florence between 1522 and 1527 (Fig. 30).[65] The connection with the Tudor court is evident in part of the text of the final motet, the placement of which suggests a dedicatory function:

> The Gods can see nothing greater
> Nor mortals anything more benign
> Than Henry, the English king
> Knowledgeable in military matters
> Even more desirous of peace
> He, being incapable
> Never swerves from the course of justice.[66]

These books are likely to have been the earliest examples of the Italian madrigal in England, an apt choice of gift for a musical king, made suitably magnificent through the illuminations; the cost of one letter of which would have been double the composer's monthly salary.[67] There has been debate as to the dating of the partbooks. Fenlon relates the content, which includes a motet mourning Francis I's captivity following the Battle of Pavia and another which he interprets as a plea to Clement VII, to the context of the League of Cognac, which was formed in 1526 to unite France, the Papacy, Venice,

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[63] Chicago, Newberry Library, MS-VM 1578.M91.

[64] H. Slim, 'A Royal Treasure at Sutton Coldfield', *Early Music*, 6 (1978), pp. 57-74.

[65] H. Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1972), I, pp. 29, 41.

[66] *Ibid*., p. 110; Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals*, II, pp. 309-12: 'Nil maius superi vident / Nil mortales benignius / Henrico rege anglie / Il legnarus militia / Qui etis cupidus mage / Ille a justitie orbita / Nunquam deflectit, impotens'.

[67] *Ibid*., p. 106.

Milan and Florence; Henry VIII did not join but acted as the league's protector.[68] However, Slim rejects this because of Florentine hostility to Clement in 1525-6 and because he believes that Clement could not be the 'Rex' to whom 'Salve, Rex, pater misericordie' is addressed.[69] Slim's later dating connects the partbooks to the 1527 embassy of Pierfrancesco Portinari, who arrived in England seeking Henry's financial aid against the pope, following the Republic's rise against the Medici after the Sack of Rome.[70] His instructions stated that 'he was not to begrudge presents to some of the persons about the court if thereby he might further his object'.[71] The means by which the partbooks left royal possession is unknown; they could have been given away, or been removed following an order of council passed on 26 February 1551 which purged Edward's library at Westminster 'of all superstitiouse bookes, as masse bookes, legendes and suche like'.[72]

Gifts sent by the popes to England can be understood as markers of a personal bond, for they were temporal rulers, however, they could also bestow symbolic items. Such gifts were clearly not to be reciprocated in kind, but were received as a reward for loyalty and service. They were tangible signs of papal favour and were given at moments when the Tudor monarchs had their closest links to Rome. Diplomacy with Rome was usually handled by ecclesiastics such as Pietro Griffo, a collector of papal revenues, who was first sent to England to try and interest Henry VII in a crusade and then recalled as a protest against the king's lack of conscience in allowing the importation of Turkish alum into England.[73] In 1492, Henry VII appointed the first officially approved Cardinal Protector of any nation, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, later Pius III, a move that has been described as 'a manifestation of the Tudor court's enthusiastic cultivation of

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[68] I. Fenlon, 'La diffusion de la chanson continentale dans les manuscrits anglais entre 1509-1570', in *La Chanson à la Renaissance: actes du XXe Colloque d'Études humanistes du Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance de l'Université de Tours, juillet 1977* (Tours, 1981), p. 179.

[69] H. Slim, *Ten Altus Parts at Oscott College Sutton Coldfield* (Coldfield, 1978), p. 6.

[70] Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, I, p. 107.

[71] C. Roth, 'England and the Last Florentine Republic, 1527-30', *The English Historical Review*, 40 (1925), p. 178.

[72] *APC*, III, p. 224.

[73] D. Hay, 'Pietro Griffo, An Italian in England: 1506-1512', *Italian Studies*, 2 (1938-9), pp. 118-128.

the Renaissance papacy'.[74] The main function of this position was to secure the provision of royal nominees to English bishoprics. It was held by a succession of cardinals, including Julius II's nephew Galeotto della Rovere and Giulio de' Medici, later Clement VII, and ensured that England had a presence in the curia even if there were no English cardinals in Rome.[75] However, Lorenzo Campeggio's failure to resolve the issue of Henry VIII's divorce resulted in his dismissal as Cardinal Protector and the post was not filled again until Giovane Morone was appointed by Paul IV for Mary. The final break with Rome ultimately removed the need for the role. Just as the gifts were signs of papal favour, the ultimate demonstration of a complete rupture in Anglo-Papal relations was the excommunication of the monarch, an action that was taken against Henry VIII by both Clement VII and Paul III, and against Elizabeth by Pius V.

The highest distinction bestowed by the Holy See was the papal sword and consecrated cap, the *gladius et pileus*, which were presented to a ruler or warrior in recognition of a brilliant achievement in armed combat or diplomatic negotiation.[76] The sword was blessed by the pope at Christmas and was presented, with the cap, during the following year. Niccolò di Favri of Treviso described the sword in 1514 as 'long, with a gilded guard and scabbard'.[77] It was traditionally two-handed with a gold pommel and steel blade, usually inscribed in Latin with the verse from 2 Maccabees 15:16, 'Accipe sanctum gladium munus a Deo, in quo deijcies adversarios populi mei Israel'.[78] Favri also described the cap, 'resembling in shape the crown of the caps worn by the Albanian light cavalry ... with a turned-up brim, covered with embroidery and pearls, with sundry small pendant tails'.[79] The embroidery and pearls picked out the image of a dove, whilst the two flaps, trimmed with ermine, fell upon the shoulders of the wearer like those of

[74] W. Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors Before the Reformation* (London and New York, 1974), pp. 10, 53.

[75] *Ibid*., p. 39.

[76] S. Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Manchester, 1997), p. 72.

[77] *CSPV*, II.445.

[78] Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant*, p. 62; 2 Maccabees 15:16: 'Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries'.

[79] *CSPV*, II.445.

an Episcopal mitre.[80] The symbolism of these objects was explained in 1555 by Cardinal Pole:

> The sword with the cincture and cap ... is blessed on the night of the birth of Christ, whom, as Scripture says, God to us *benedientum misit*, to remind those who obtain the advantage of the sword, which is the power of justice, that if they wish to exercise it rightly and salutarily, they must first comprehend that they derived it from Christ himself, with whom justice is twin-born, his birth being celebrated on the night on which the sword is blessed. The true use of the sword is shown by the cap, decorated with pearls, representing a sort of dove; so as, according to the Apostle, the covering of the head indicates its having a Lord to whom it must obey. Those who, together with the sword, receive the cap, are clearly taught that the power of the sword is not to be used by them according to their own arbitrament, but according to that of Him from whom they received it, who is the head and Lord of all; this head being the Holy Spirit, of which the purity of the pearls and the semblance of the dove are symbols. The minds of sovereigns should be pure as pearls and their faith remain guileless as the dove; they defending those who do the like with the power of the sword, which they are to wield solely against such as either openly profess themselves the enemies of the Catholic religion, or corrupt the purity of the faith, or transgress against morality and the laws.[81]

Both Henry VII and Henry VIII received the papal sword and cap. Henry VII received them from Innocent VIII in 1489 and Alexander VI in 1496. The first occasion was used by the papal envoy Persio Malvessi as an occasion to discuss both a crusade and the alum trade, and the gift was interpreted as symbol 'whereof the kyng was admyttid by the pope and his hool counsayll protectour and deffendour of ye Church of Cryst'.[82] Henry VII declined to join the crusade, stating that 'our subjects at this moment are so burdened by payment of a subsidy for urgent public concerns, that we see at once the

[80] Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant*, p. 73.

[81] *CSPV*, VI.i.66.

[82] *CSPV*, I.548; A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley, eds., *The Great Chronicle of London* (London, 1938), p. 274.

impossibility of effecting this, save at great inconvenience, and with much murmuring from the people'.[83] However, Alexander VI's gift in 1496 was more successful, and induced Henry to join the Holy League, which aimed to curb France's expansionist claims to the Italian peninsula and was formed 'with a view to the peace and tranquillity of Italy, and to the welfare of the Christian commonwealth'.[84] John Speed's *The History of Great Britaine,* first published in 1611, recorded that Henry VII also received the sword and cap from Pius III,[85] and this gift could well have related to Piccolomini's previous role as England's Cardinal Protector.

In 1514 Henry VIII received the sword and cap from the Florentine protonotary Leonardo Spinelli, on behalf of Leo X. This was in order to flatter Henry into coming to terms with France as part of Leo's plan to broker a European peace. It is a further example of a gift being used to pressure the recipient into a certain course of action. It was a prompt designed to inspire Henry to take up a European role, a process that can again be understood through Seneca, who wrote that 'not to return gratitude for benefits is a disgrace'.[86] This gift is listed with the ceremonial robes, such as those of the chivalric orders, in the 1521 inventory of the Wardrobe of the Robes taken by James Worsley. The pieces were described as 'a cappe of mayntenaunce of russet veluete with the holy goste enbrauderd with perles and a long gyrdell of gold of damaske faste to the same,' and 'a Riche swerde that was sent the king from the popes hoynes the hafte and shethe of silver and gilt with a longe gyrdelle of cloth of gold with bokelles pendaunt and studdes of silver and gilt'.[87] A later cap survives, which was given by Gregory XIII to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria in 1581 (Fig. 31) which shows the richness of the

[83] *CSPV*, I.548.

[84] *CSPV*, I.714.

[85] Speed, J., *The History of Great Britaine, Under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans: Their Originals, Manners, Warres, Coines, and Seales, With the Successions, Lives, Acts and Issues of the English Monarchs From Julius Caesar, T Our Most Gracious Soveraigne King James* (London, 1611), p. 751.

[86] Seneca, *Moral Essays*, trans. J. Basore, 3 vols. (Cambridge Massachusets, 1935), III: *De Beneficiis*, p. 127, cited in Bestor, 'Marriage Transactions in Renaissance Italy', p. 44.

[87] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, p. 420; BL, MS Harley 4217, f. 10r.

Fig. 31: Consecrated hat presented to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria in 1581, velvet embroidered with pearls, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, HJRK A 989.

Figs. 32: Domenico da Sutri, Scottish Sword of State, detail, silver-gilt and etched steel, 1506, Edinburgh Castle, Edinburgh.

Fig. 33: Golden Rose given by Pius II to the Republic of Siena in 1459, wrought gold set with gems, Museo Civico di Siena.

pearl embroidery. So enthusiastic was Henry at his receipt of the gift that he insisted on wearing the cap during the procession following its presentation, when it should have been carried.[88] It is likely that the sword was similar to the sword that now forms part of the Honours of Scotland (Fig. 32). James IV of Scotland received the sword and cap from Julius II in 1507. The sword and scabbard were made by the Bolognese Domenico da Sutri and the decoration includes the oak tree and acorns of Julius II's arms, whilst the dolphin quillons are symbolic of Christ's church.[89] It is not likely that Henry's sword was made by the same individual, but da Sutri was responsible for the creation of the swords for a number of years, suggesting that a degree of continuity in design was important. The final recipient of the sword and cap in England was not one of the Tudor monarchs, but Mary's husband, Philip II of Spain, and it was brought to him in England by Antonio Agustini in 1555 after his marriage, an event that had reinforced England's return to the Roman Catholic Church.[90]

Popes also expressed their favour through the gift of the Golden Rose. Each year one was blessed by the pope on the fourth Sunday in Lent, the *Dominica Laetare*. It was often presented to princes who had performed signal service to the Church and to Christendom, but if no reigning monarch merited the gift in any one year, it could be awarded to a noble who had been present in the congregation during the ceremony of the blessing.[91] The association of the gift of the rose with close English involvement in European affairs is demonstrated by its presentation following the two Tudor Anglo-Spanish marriage alliances. A 1521 inventory of the Jewel House includes a rose 'sente from the Pope to Prince Arthur',[92] which would most likely be as a result of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon, whilst Mary received the rose in 1555 when Philip was given the sword and cap of maintenance. These gifts illustrate how the pope was able to utilise the belief that 'whether when inflicting punishment or bestowing reward,

[88] *CSPV*, II.445.

[89] C. Burnett and C. Tabraham, *The Honours of Scotland: The Story of the Scottish Crown Jewels* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 18.

[90] *CSPV*, VI.i.37.

[91] Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant*, p. 67.

[92] E. Suffragan, 'King Henry VIII's Jewel Book', *Associated Architectural Societies*, 17 (1883-4), p. 162.

the sovereign has always need of the blessing of God',[93] and had the requisite symbols at his command that were understood throughout Europe to be a sign of papal favour. This use of papal gifts to manipulate the diplomatic situation did not go unremarked; amongst the many things that Erasmus chose to satirise about Julius II in the dialogue *Julius exclusus e coelis* was his use of ceremonial gifts. In Julius' dialogue with St. Peter the pope describes the way in which he would send princes 'consecrated roses, crowns, swords, and confirm their privileges with mighty bulls; they in turn send horses, soldiers, money ... in this way, as you might say, we scratch one another's backs, like mules'.[94]

Both the sword and cap, and the Golden Rose, brought to the English court pieces of the most skilful Italian workmanship. They appear to have been carefully cared for upon their receipt; a chamber account from January 1497 contains a reference to a case being made for the sword and cap that Henry VII had received from Alexander VI.[95] Similarly, the roses were meticulously described in chronicles and inventories; Hall reported in his *Chronicle* that the rose that was received from Clement VII by the hands of Thomas Hanibal was 'a tree forged of fine golde, and wrought with branches, leaves and flowers, resemblyng Roses, this tree was set in a pot of gold, which pot had thre fete of antike fashion; the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in the uppermost Rose, was a faire Saphier loupe perced, the bignes of an Acorne, the tree was of height halfe an English yard, and in bredth it was a foote'.[96] The rose that was presented to the Republic of Siena by Pius II in 1459 (Fig. 33) gives a suggestion of the form of the roses that were sent to England; there are no surviving examples from the sixteenth century. In order to add to their verisimilitude the roses were anointed with balsam and

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[93] *CSPV*, VI.i.66.

[94] M. Heath, trans., 'Julius Excluded from Heaven: A Dialogue', in A. Levi, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 27 (Toronto, 1986), p. 188; W.K. Ferguson, ed., *Erasmi Opuscula: A Supplement to the Opera Omnia* (The Hague, 1933), p. 108: 'Nos illis rosas mittimus consecrates, tiaras, gladios, et illorum dignitateus maximis bullis comfirmamus; illi vicissim mittunt equos, milites, pecuniam, atque ita mutuum, quod aiunt, muli scabunt'.

[95] M. Hayward, '"The Sign of Some Degree": The Financial, Social and Sartorial Significance of Male Headwear at the Courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI', *Costume*, 36 (2002), p. 11; BL, MS Add. 7099, f. 37.

[96] Hall, *Chronicle* (London, 1809), p. 684.

dusted with musk before they were presented.[97] Their fate in England is difficult to trace. The description of the ceremony in the chapel at Whitehall, where Mary received the Golden Rose, states that 'the most Serene Queen evinced the utmost delight at hers, for after a short prayer, she carried it in her own hand and placed it on its altar'.[98] This suggests that her rose could have remained permanently in the chapel and therefore become part of the chapel plate. By contrast, the rose from Clement VII was taken directly to the Jewel House after it had been presented to the king, and it is there that the two roses that Henry had previously received were listed in an inventory taken in 1521.[99] They were described respectively as 'a Rose of gold with ix braunches standing upon iij acorns and a corse safor in the toppe' and 'a Rose of gold with ix braunches standing upon iij lyons fete and a corse sapphire in the toppe', whilst the rose given to Prince Arthur stood upon 'a fote borne up with thre oxson'.[100] This illustrates how the design for the Golden Rose changed with each pope: the acorns represent the Della Rovere family of Julius II, the lions' feet refer to Leo X, and the oxen to the Borgia pope, Alexander VI. The roses do not seem to appear in either the 1542 or the 1547 inventories. However, there are two intriguing references to golden roses in the King's secret jewel house in 1547, each set with a sapphire and with a pearl pendant.[101] The specific description of the object as a rose, and the inclusion of a sapphire, makes it tempting to speculate that following the break with Rome the papal Golden Roses sent to Prince Arthur, Henry VII and Henry VIII, could have been dismantled and turned into jewels. Separating the flower from the branches, and from the emblems of specific popes, would have turned the symbolic papal gifts into personal possessions of the monarch, valued for the skill of their making and their materials, and disassociated from their initial purpose as a sign of service to Rome.

Popes also gave gifts with less spiritual significance and these worldly items demonstrated the papal court's ability to reciprocate as magnificently as secular princes. The Golden Rose from Julius II was accompanied by one hundred parmesan cheeses

[97] Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant*, p. 68.

[98] *CSPV*, VI.i.37.

[99] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 684.

[100] Suffragan, 'King Henry VIII's Jewel Book', p. 162.

[101] *1547 Inventory*, nos. 2805 and 2997.

and several barrels of wine.[102] Similarly, Leo X presented Manuel I of Portugal with an illuminated book and, possibly, a chimney piece ornamented with sculptures by Michelangelo as well as the Golden Rose. This was a return gift following his receipt of plate, textiles and exotic animals from the king during the extravagant Portuguese embassy to Rome of 1514.[103] Gifts of works of art were also exchanged with the French court following two marriage alliances between the Medici and the Valois. In 1518 Leo X's nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici the younger, married Francis I's niece, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, an occasion that prompted the presentation of portraits and religious paintings by Raphael and Giulio Romano. Then in 1533 when Clement VII's niece, Catherine de' Medici, married the future Henry II, among the gifts exchanged was a crystal, silver and enamel casket by Valerio Belli, engraved with scenes from the life of Christ.[104]

There appears to be only one occasion on which such a grand gift was planned for a Tudor monarch, and it was envisaged on a very grand scale. Unlike the gifts to Portugal and France, which were mostly pre-existing pieces - for example, the Belli casket had been ordered by the pope in 1530, and was made to contain the consecrated host for display on Good Friday[105]- this was a specific commission. It was never fully realised, but it would have brought an example of the full magnificence of the artistic achievements of sixteenth-century Rome to the English court, and reveals an extremely close level of interaction between England and the papacy. In 1521 Henry VIII sent a dedication copy of his *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum* to Leo X, and Leo reciprocated by appointing him *Fidei defensor*.[106] However, as had occurred with Manuel II, Leo used the opportunity to send material gifts as well as the mark of spiritual favour that was conferred by the title *Fidei defensor*. It has been

[102] Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p. 48; Thomas, *The History of Italy*, p. 124. The fame of Parmesan cheeses was such that Thomas noted that Parma's 'territory and pastures are so fat and sweet that it is thought no place of all Europe able to compare with it for the excellent cheeses it maketh, which by the Parmesans are right well known to all', in his general account of Italy.

[103] Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant*, p. 71.

[104] Cox-Rearick, 'Sacred to Profane: Diplomatic Gifts of the Medici to Francis I', pp. 239-58.

[105] *Ibid*., p. 250.

[106] *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum* (London, 1521); the illuminated dedication copy, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Membr. III. 1.

suggested that the *Golden Gospels*, which contain an inventory number from Henry VIII's library, were sent to England as a gift from Leo in direct reciprocation for the receipt of Henry's book.[107] The *Golden Gospels* were written in the tenth century at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Maximin at Trier, but in the sixteenth century the English arms were added with verses written in gold letters.[108] These match the verses that Henry had added to Leo's presentation copy of the *Assertio septem sacramentorum*. More unusual is the second gift that has been associated with this exchange; Paolo Giovio's 1548 *De vita Leonis Decimi Pont. Max.* tells how Leo commissioned a model to be made of a tomb for Henry VIII, and that it was shown to him on 30 November 1521.[109] The model's form is known through a description in a letter from Leonardo Sellaio in Rome to Michelangelo in Florence in December 1521: it was to include 142 life-size bronze figures, as well as an effigy of the king on horseback and reliefs in bronze; Sellaio estimated that the gilding alone for the bronzes would cost 40,000 ducats.[110] Vasari mentioned the model,[111] and its arrival in England is confirmed by the description in John Speed's *The History of Great Britaine* which closely matches the description in Sellaio's letter.[112]

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[107] Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII*, p. 65.

[108] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.23, f.1v.

[109] M. Mitchell, 'Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 34 (1971), p. 178 citing P. Giovio, *Pauli Iovii ... de vita Leonis Pont. Max. Libri IIII* (Florence, 1548), p. 113.

[110] L. Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court: A Corpus of Early Modern Sources* (Philadelphia, 2004), p. 61: 'G[i]ovanni Chavalchanti à fatto fare a Bac[i]o di Michelangelo un modello, chosa grande, a modo dell'archo che é pié di Chanpidogl[i]o, chon uno ricinto di schale, e di sopra a modo di chapanna d'esequio. Dove vano, tra in sui detti schagl[i]oni e dintorno, 142 fighure di bronzo a'naturale, e di sopra e'Re a chavallo, e quadri di basso rilievo, pure di bronzo. G[i]udichasi che, solo per dorare detti bronzi, i vada 40000 ducati, c[i]oé quaranta mila ducati d'oro. Non so se si farà mai'.

[111] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' Più Eccellenti Pittori Scultori ed Architettori*, G. Milanesi, ed., 9 vols. (Florence, 1881), VI, p. 144. In his life of Baccio Bandinelli Vasari notes: 'fece ancora un bellissimo modello di legno, e le figure di cera, per una sepoltura al re d'Inghilterra'. Vasari then incorrectly states that the model was eventually executed in metal by Benedetto da Rovezzano. However, by that point Rovezzano was actually working from a different design for the tomb. For a full discussion of this see Chapter 5.

[112] Speed, *The History of Great Britaine*, pp. 784-5.

The model was made by Baccio Bandinelli at the suggestion of the Papal Datary, Baldassare Turini da Pescia, with the Florentine merchant Giovanni Cavalcanti, purveyor of cloth of gold to the English court, acting as intermediary.[113] It does not, however, appear to have been the only design that was proposed. A copy of an invoice for the shipment of various items from Florence in November 1521, recorded in the *libro di ricordanze* of the Cavalcanti and Bardi company in London, included 'a case wrapped in oil skin and cloth, containing the model for a tomb by Bartolomeo da Montelupo' and a similarly packaged case 'containing a model by Jacopo Sansovino'.[114] This Anglo-Florentine commissioning process, as well as the unusual choice of a tomb as the object of the commission seems to have arisen following the embassy of the papal legate, Lorenzo Campeggio, to England in 1518, an embassy that formed a continuation of Leo X's desire to broker European peace. That this was a crucial point in Anglo-Papal relations is demonstrated by Wolsey's use of the occasion to be appointed legate *a latere*, and thus become Campeggio's equal. The possibility that the tomb project could also have arisen from this embassy is due to the fact that it occurred at the same time that Henry VIII's plans for a magnificent tomb had stalled. The Florentine artist Pietro Torrigiano had been contracted at the beginning of 1519 to make a tomb similar to the one that he had made for Henry VII but 'more grettir by the iiijth parte'.[115] However, Torrigiano had thrown the project into doubt by leaving England without leave sometime before June 1519 (whilst Campeggio was still in the country) and did not return until late 1519, or early 1520, by which point Campeggio had departed.[116]

In this context the presentation of the enormous sum of £7,000 to Campeggio on his departure could be interpreted as relating to a new tomb project. Campeggio was at this point the likely successor to Giulio de' Medici as England's Cardinal Protector and, therefore, would have been in a position to mediate such a commission. It would also

[113] *L&P*, III.2214.

[114] C. Sicca, 'Pawns of International Finance and Politics: Florentine Sculptors at the Court of Henry VIII', *Renaissance Studies*, 20. 1(2006), pp. 1-34.

[115] A. Higgins, 'On the Work of Florentine Sculptors in England', *The Archaeological Journal*, 51(1894), p. 142.

[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 143-5. Also see Chapter 5.

have appealed to Giulio de' Medici and Leo X since Torrigiano's departure had caused considerable embarrassment to the Florentine merchants in London who were underwriting the cost of his work. The commissioning of the presentation models would, therefore, have showcased alternative Florentine talent, and whilst Leo may not have been offering to fund the entire project, the models represent the gift of access to artists, and the facilitation of the entire project. However, as Giovio described, the showing of Bandinelli's model to the pope was an ill omen, and he died suddenly the next day.[117] His successor Clement VII confirmed the title *Fidei difensor* on Henry, and the tomb project also appears to have continued following a slight pause. The Cavalcanti and Bardi company ledgers record payments in the first half of 1523 for shipping the models to Westminster, making a box for the largest model, reguilding and repainting the models and finally for taking them to Greenwich.[118] The return of the project could have been due to the fact that sometime in 1522 or 1523 Torrigiano had finally left England for Spain, and thus Henry needed a new tomb design.[119] A letter of the artist Lorenzo Lotto on 7 October 1527 suggests Sansovino's model may have been accepted as a design, for he wrote that Jacopo Sansovino had a commission for a work valued at 75,000 ducats for the king.[120] This project could also relate to an earlier letter from Pierfranceso de' Bardi and Giovanni Cavalcanti, which confirmed that a deal had been struck for the tomb, although this letter does not mention the name of the artist.[121] Nothing came of this, however, and Henry ultimately adopted the artists and materials from Cardinal Wolsey's planned tomb for his own memorial.

Taken together these exchanges suggest a qualification to Lodovico Falier's statement to the Venetian Senate, in his report on England in 1531, that between England and the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara and the other Italian powers 'there are no relations, nor have they the means of benefitting each other mutually'.[122] The channels of communication opened by gift exchange clearly were still in operation. Yet they were in

[117] Mitchell, 'Works of Art from Rome', p. 178 citing Giovio, *Pauli Iovii ... de vita Leonis*, p. 113.

[118] Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court*, p. 66.

[119] Higgins, 'On the Work of Florentine Sculptors in England', p. 145.

[120] Mitchell, 'Works of Art from Rome', Appendix III.

[121] Sicca, 'Pawns of International Finance and Politics,' pp. 31, 33.

[122] *CSPV*, IV.694.

decline, and, although there were representatives from other regions, the most stable Anglo-Italian diplomatic link throughout the Tudor period was that maintained by the resident Venetian ambassadors in England, such as Falier. This is demonstrated by the receipt of gifts by the Tudor monarchs from Venice, which occurred on a more regular basis, and for a longer period, than with the rulers of the other Italian states. The receipt of credentials from a Venetian ambassador by an English king was first mentioned in 1370, and his role was closely bound up with the affairs of merchants trading in England; indeed his main responsibility was to gain a guarantee of safe-conduct for Venetian subjects and merchandise.[123] It is thus notable that the Venetians seem to have favoured the presentation of maps to the English monarch. They are not only the most likely donors for the complete map of Italy on parchment (Fig. 20), but also probably presented to Henry VIII two atlases by the Genoese Battista Agnese, who worked in Venice, which covered the whole of the then known world.[124] The larger of these, which survives in the Vatican, contains ten charts with the royal arms and an explicit dedication to the king,[125] whilst it is possible that the smaller size of the atlas at Lambeth indicates that it was intended for Prince Edward (Figs. 34 and 35).[126] The importance of trade continued to form the foundation of the Venetian connection with England, overcoming the divisions of the Reformation, as is evident by the commission for the ambassador elect to the newly crowned protestant king Edward VI, Domenico Bollani, 'to recommend to the King the Venetian merchants in England, to whom he is always to render, when necessary, such assistance and favour as he can for the benefit of their traffic and merchandise'.[127]

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[123] *CSPV*, I.41.

[124] H. Wagner, 'The Manuscript Atlases of Battista Agnese', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 25 (1931); H. Wagner, 'Additions to the Manuscript Atlases of Battista Agnese', *Imago Mundi*, 4 (1947), p. 28.

[125] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4357. Henry VII's coat of arms are featured on f. 2.

[126] London, Lambeth Palace, MS 463; P. Barber, 'An Atlas For a Young Prince', in R. Palmer and M. Brown, eds., *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (London, 2010), p. 98.

[127] *CSPV*, V.520.

Fig. 34: Battista Agnese, Atlas, vellum, *c*. 1543, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 463, f. 1.

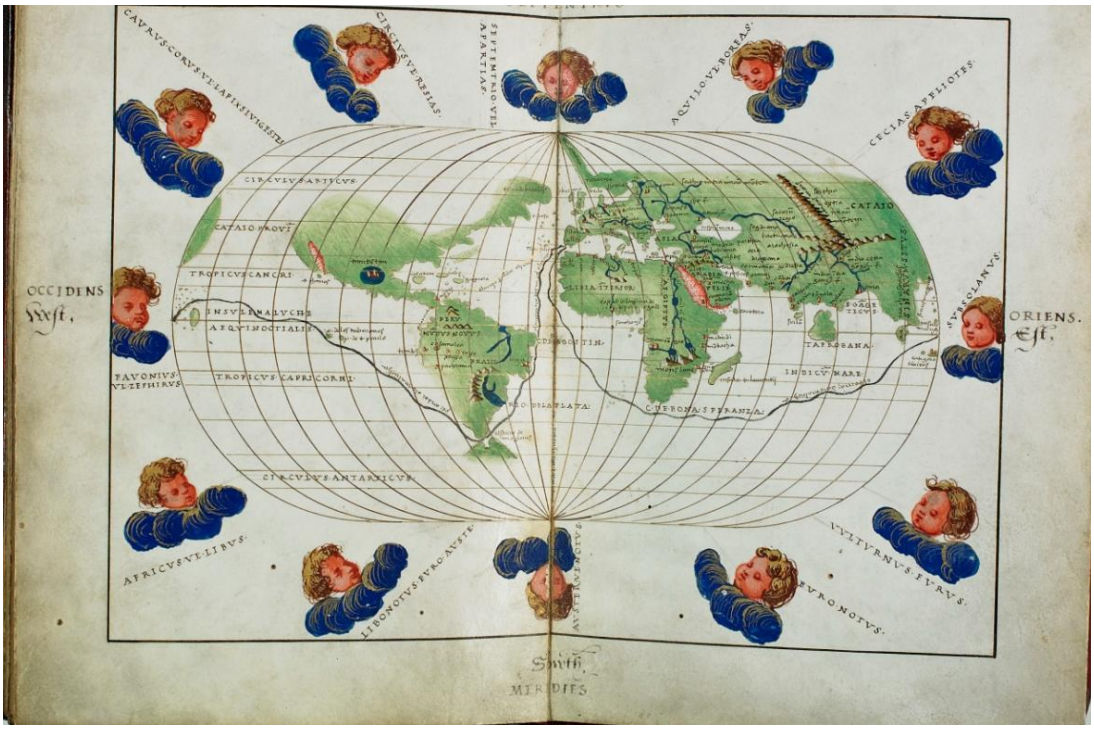

Fig. 35: Battista Agnese, Atlas, vellum, *c*. 1543, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 463, ff. 13v-14r.

The official connection was, however, broken for almost the whole of Elizabeth's reign, a fact that she correctly assumed was, at least in part, due to pressure from the papacy; she remarked to a Venetian visitor in 1596 that 'once on a time, when I was a princess, I was more esteemed by your Lords than I am now that I am Queen; but you are afraid of that old fellow'.[128] Evidence of this pressure can be found in the correspondence sent from the Venetian ambassadors in Rome to the doge, during a period when, due to an acute shortage of grain, Venice had to send a representative to England to negotiate the purchase of grain and to send more galleys in order to have empty ships capable of carrying it back to Venice. The letter reports that the pope believed that 'if it were absolutely necessary to send to England, a merchant would do quite well as agent instead of a noble whose presence would imply ulterior consequences,' which lead Donato, the ambassador, to conclude that 'undoubtedly the object of his Holiness is to prevent your Serenity from sending a representative to the court of that most heretical queen.'[129] The merchants remained, although in reduced numbers, and they pleaded unsuccessfully for an official representative, whom they would fund themselves, in order to recover goods stolen by English privateers.[130] They had correctly gathered 'that her Majesty looks to deal with public officials ... she takes no notice at all of private agents'.[131]

The easing of commercial relations by means of gifts was decreed by the Venetian Senate early in the fifteenth century because 'the King of England is most friendly towards the Signory … evident by the honours which he confers daily on its merchants' and it was put to the ballot that the College should purchase 'such things as shall seem fit to be sent as presents to that King and to the Queen, to the amount of 200 golden ducats'.[132] These could clearly be quite eclectic; in 1498 the Milanese ambassador reported that his Venetian counterpart had made the king a present of 'twelve bits and

[128] *CSPV*, IX.505: 'Era ben una volta, quando io era principessa, ch'era più stimata da li vostri signori che adesso che sono Regina; ma voi havete paura di quel vecchio'.

[129] *CSPV*, IX.103.

[130] Fusaro, *Uva passa*, p. 21. Pressure from the papacy also managed to force the Senate to block any move by the Venetian merchants in London to confirm Placido Ragazzoni, the vice-consul of their community, in an official position.

[131] *CSPV*, IX.1105.

[132] *CSPV*, I.155.

four bundles of white candles and three barrels of Damascus syrups'.[133] It is, therefore, possible that the *lattimo* vase (Fig. 28) can be counted amongst this form of present, since the Venetian Senate well understood the value of a strategic gift in order to gain favour. The ambassador in 1520, Antonio Surian, noted of Cardinal Wolsey that 'it would be well to make a present to this "individual" who might be styled King of England'.[134] The Venetian Senate subsequently raised the money to present Wolsey with sixty Oriental carpets, that he had asked for, which were 'accepted graciously … he said the present was worthy of a much greater personage than himself' and, thanking the Signory vastly, made many offers of service 'saying that he would not be an ungrateful Cardinal, but stand the Signory's man in everything'.[135] A similar decision was taken by the Venetian Senate to pay for a group of cuirasses that were ordered to be made in Brescia for the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Wiltshire.[136] The decision to take on the cost of the import and making of these objects sometimes had to be made on a more *ad hoc* basis, and as a result the ambassador took the responsibility upon himself, often ending up out of pocket and trying to reclaim the money. An example of this was Giovanni Michiel's purchase of some coloured silk for Mary in 1555, for which he did not 'think it becoming the dignity of the post unworthily held by me to ask or seek its payment, which was never offered'.[137] This cost was easier to bear than that of the coach and horses and all their trappings that Michiel had had imported from Italy for his own use, and which were among 'a number of things of no little value presented by me at several times, not from personal vanity, but because they were all asked of me for her Majesty's need and service'.[138] The coach was subsequently given by Mary to her Mistress of the Robes and Michiel received from the queen a gift of a gold cup and 200 crowns presented to him 'not as an ambassador, but as to Messer Giovanni Michiel,' because 'Her Majesty is personally much obliged to you for sundry presents and acts of courtesy received from you, and for those you conferred on her Mistress of

[133] *CSPM*, 557. The term 'bits' presumably refers to bits for horses.

[134] *CSPV*, III.1.

[135] *CSPV*, II.1111; III.133.

[136] *CSPV*, IV.857.

[137] *CSPV*, VI.i.213.

[138] *CSPV*, VI.ii.884; Albèri, 'Relazioni d'Inghilterra', p. 461. The coach was termed 'un cocchio con i cavalli e tutti li apparecchi'. This may have been the first coach to reach England, see J. Munby, 'Queen Elizabeth's Coaches: The Wardrobe on Wheels', *Antiquaries Journal*, 83 (2003), p. 312.

the Robes'.[139] These gifts from Venice were usually small tokens, luxuries that reflected their access to a variety of manufactured goods through trade links across Europe, and which extended the English court's exposure to Italian luxury goods.

Italians were, however, not the only rulers who chose to send gifts of Italian objects to the English court. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494 was the first of a series of campaigns which gave France control over large swathes of territory on the Italian peninsula and France's Italian dominions covered seventy-five thousand square kilometres by August 1501.[140] This position was, however, unsustainable when faced with the shifting alliances of the Italian states, the Holy Roman Emperor, Spain and England. Nonetheless, it was only in 1559 with the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis that Henry II gave up all French claims to territory on the peninsula, apart from a few garrisons.[141] This access to Italy, and the acknowledgment of the French context of England's engagement with the peninsula, was something that was occasionally displayed to the English monarchs through the medium of gifts. For example Henry VII's will makes specific reference to 'the precious Relique of oon of the legs of Saint George, set in silver parcel gilte, which came to the hands of our Broder and Cousyn Lewys of Fraunce, the tyme that he wan and recovered the Citie of Millein, and geven and sent to us by our Cousyne the Cardinal of Amboys Legate in France', which was to be set upon the altar by his tomb on feast days.[142] Louis XII, the cousin of Charles VIII, had had a personal claim to the Duchy of Milan, dating back to the marriage of his grandfather to Valentina, the daughter of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan. Thus whilst Charles VIII's Italian campaign had been partly at the request of Lodovico Sforza, meaning that the French had left Milan alone in order to be sure of an ally on the peninsula, to Louis possession of the city was a priority. In July 1499 the French vanguard entered Milanese territory and Louis was able to make his triumphal entry in October; Georges d'Amboise was made responsible for reorganising the city's administration.[143] The gift to Henry VII of a relic from the city was thus a powerful

[139] *CSPV*, VI.ii.884.

[140] Knecht, *The Rise and Fall*, p. 63.

[141] *Ibid*., p. 276-8.

[142] Astle, *The Will of King Henry VII*, pp. 33-4.

[143] Knecht, *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 61-2.

statement of French expansionism and could have been presented by the governor of Picardy when he was sent to England to declare the taking of Milan.[144] It was also a particularly apt gift because Ludovico Sforza had sought Henry VII's support against the French claim to the duchy, support that he hoped to display through membership of the Order of the Garter. The English king refused the request, specifically stating that he did not wish to get drawn into conflict with France.[145] Thus the French gift of the relic of St George, patron of the English chivalric order, could be interpreted as tacit acknowledgement of Henry's non-intervention. This display of the French claim to Italian territories can, perhaps, also be seen in the presentation of the Mirror of Naples, a large diamond, to Mary Tudor before her marriage to the French king.[146] However, these demonstrations of French influence in Italy were clearly no longer possible after the French withdrew from the peninsula, and thus gifts of this form were not received in England in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Exposure to the culture and customs of Italy had a pervasive effect on taste in the French court, most noticeably in Francis I's appreciation of Italian art.[147] This resulted in the active commissioning of works and the acquisition of pieces through the use of agents. It was this development that offered further opportunities for Italian art to make its way to England through gifts. In 1540 Francis sent the Italian artist Francesco Primaticcio, who had been working in France since March 1532, to Rome, in order to buy and copy antique sculptures on his behalf.[148] In November of that year, during a discussion with the English ambassador Sir John Wallop, in which he compared his taste with Henry's, Francis offered 'divers moulds of antique personages that he hath now coming out of Italy, with which he shall have done within three or four months'.[149] Wallop seemed to believe that this was a genuine offer and later gives a description of

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[144] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 492.

[145] *CSPM*, 593.

[146] *CSPV*, II.505.

[147] Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I*, p. 27. In analysing the possessions of Francis I Cox-Rearick focuses on the Italian items, describing the French king as 'enamoured of luxury and beauty – and all things Italian'.

[148] Knecht, *The Rise and Fall*, p. 196.

[149] *L&P*, XVI.276.

the gallery at Fontainebleu where 'there are antique statues between each window, and five "tables of stories" as Lucretia and others. Such things would suit the gallery at St. James's, and the French king would gladly give the pattern'.[150] However, the moulds never came to England and were eventually given by Henry II to the Habsburg court in the Netherlands in 1550. This was after the Regent of the Netherlands, Mary of Hungary, had heard that the moulds were in jeopardy following Francis I's death and had encouraged Primaticcio to propose the idea of a gift to the French king.[151] The failure to seize the opportunity offered by this gift could be taken as an indication of a lack of interest in the classical world on Henry's part.[152] However, Henry's commissions at Nonesuch shortly after this, of which the German traveller Paul Hentzner wrote later in the sixteenth century that 'there are every where so many statues that seem to breathe, so many miracles of consummate art, so many casts that rival even the perfection of Roman antiquity, that it may well claim and justify its name as Nonesuch',[153] suggests a subtly different interpretation – Henry was interested in the image of antiquity that could be modified to his own ends, not in collecting 'the antique' in the form of authentic objects. Indeed Henry was even using an Italian artist previously employed by Francis I at Fontainebleu, Niccolò Bellin of Modena,[154] and this suggests that he was aiming to mimic elements of Francis' patronage. A further explanation for the failure of the moulds to come to England could be that Henry viewed it as a form of antagonistic gift, since unlike horses or even textiles, which were traded on the European market, such sculptures would have been impossible for him to reciprocate in kind, and thus accepting them would have placed him in debt to the French king. The fact that in 1533 Henry's relationship with the papacy had sunk to a new low with his excommunication by Clement VII is also significant. This action was confirmed by Paul III in 1538, and thus objects that were so explicitly demonstrative of Rome's claims to cultural supremacy might no longer have been welcome at the English

[150] *L&P*, XVI.276.

[151] B. Boucher, 'Leone Leoni and Primaticcio's Moulds of Antique Sculpture', *Burlington Magazine*,125 (1981), p. 24.

[152] Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I*, p. 65. It is interesting to note that Cox-Rearick highlights Francis I's acquisition of copies of Roman antiquities as one of the key moments that helps to identify the king as a collector who imitated the great Italian art patrons.

[153] H. Walpole, trans., *Paul Hentzner's Travels in England* (London, 1797), p. 58.

[154] *L&P*, XVI.276.

court. Other Italian items, however, did make their way into Tudor possessions via the French kings, such as some finely decorated saddle steels which may have been given during Anglo-French peace negotiations in 1546.[155] However, other objects that were believed to have been French gifts have less reliable provenances. In 1822 George IV purchased 'a very curious Antique Gold enamelled Badge of the Order of St. Michael set with Rubies and Diamonds by Benvenuto Cellini for Henry the Eighth'.[156] This would seem to have been an optimistic attribution because Henry was invested into the French chivalric order by Francis I in 1527 and Cellini only worked for the French king between 1540 and 1545, although the possibility remains that it could have been sent as a token at a later date.

The other European power that held sway over large areas of the Italian peninsula was Spain. Anglo-Spanish relations were of vital importance to the Tudor monarchs, acting as a counterweight to the influence of France. Henry VII strengthened the alliance through the marriage of Prince Arthur to Katherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic Kings of Spain, a union that continued after the death of Arthur with Katherine's subsequent marriage to Henry VIII. However, it was the later Anglo-Spanish marriage of Philip II to Mary Tudor that brought Italian gifts to England. In 1501 Ferdinand of Aragon's rule in Italy was confined to Calabria and Puglia, recently reclaimed from an illegitimate branch of the house of Aragon through collaboration with France.[157] By contrast in 1554 Philip had control over the whole of southern Italy, a territory that stretched from Sicily to the Papal States, and his father, Charles V, controlled Milan and Lombardy. This was the only dynastic marriage made by the Tudors that offered closer connections to Italy. In 1553 a marriage had been proposed between Mary and the son of the Duke of Ferrara, an idea that was strongly supported by the Venetians, who believed that an alliance with the strongest anti-Hapsburg prince would assure England's pro-Valois position and thus undermine increased Hapsburg influence in Europe.[158] It is intriguing that this plan was transferred

[155] G. Rimer, T. Richardson and J. Cooper, eds., *Henry VIII: Arms and the Man* (Leeds, 2009), pp. 190-1.

[156] Aschengreen Piacenti and Boardman, *Ancient and Modern Gems and Jewels*, p. 49.

[157] Knecht, *The Rise and Fall*, p. 62.

[158] K. Bartlett, 'The English Exile Community in Italy and the Political Opposition to Queen Mary I', *Albion*, 13 (1981), p. 229; *CSPS*, XI, p. 9.

to Elizabeth after Mary's succession as a means of getting the young Protestant princess out of England, which suggests that there was little fear of Ferrara's anti-Hapsburg influence; however, nothing came of it.[159] Philip II not only ruled parts of Italy, but his cousin, Eleanor of Toledo, was married to the Duke of Florence, and it was in the form of gifts from her that small Florentine works of art made their way to England. These included a small painting by the Medici protégée Giulio Clovio. A list of objects that left the Guardaroba in Florence includes a mention of a miniature by Clovio of the Three Magi that was sent to England in April 1555.[160] Other items despatched to Philip in England included oriental crystal, gloves, hats and sheets.[161]

Of the Italian items that arrived in England as a result of the Spanish match the most famous was a portrait by Titian, which was sent in order to aid the negotiations that preceded the marriage. The Venetian artist had first secured Habsburg patronage at the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna in 1530, and towards the end of his life most of his works were specific commissions for Philip II, including many portraits. The artist met the Spanish king twice, in Milan in 1548-49 and in Augsburg in 1550-51, and it was a work from the latter meeting, of Philip wearing a coat with white wolf-skin, that was sent to England after Mary had requested to see an image of her future husband.[162] The portrait belonged to Mary of Hungary but was chosen because it appears to have been easier to transport than a portrait on wood that was to hand in Spain, which suggests that it was a work on canvas.[163] The dowager queen was reluctant to part with the painting and sent it to Mary in England on the condition that it would ultimately be returned to her, 'as it is only a dead thing, when she has the living model in her presence'.[164] The letter that accompanied the painting also included instructions as to how to look at it, stating that 'the portrait has suffered a

[159] *CSPF*, 1547-53, 633.

[160] ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, Giornale di entrata e uscita, b. 34, f. 3: 'Quadro di minio di Don giulio de tre magi con ornamento d'ebano a uso dispera mandato al Re dinghilterra'.

[161] ASF, Guardaroba Medicea, Giornale di entrata e uscita, b. 34, ff. 80-81, 99v.

[162] *CSPS*, XI, p. 384; C. Hope, 'Titian, Philip II and Mary Tudor' in E. Chaney and P. Mack, eds., *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in honour of J.B. Trapp* (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 51-65.

[163] *CSPS*, XI, p. 355.

[164] *CSPS*, XI, p. 367.

little from time and its journey from Augsburg hither; but it will serve to tell her what he is like, if she will put it in a proper light and look at it from a distance, as all Titian's paintings have to be looked at'.[165] The painting arrived and Mary mentioned it in a letter to Charles V in December 1553,[166] but the details of its return to Mary of Hungary, or of its location in England if it did remain, are unknown. The possibility that the painting was only ever accepted as a loan is supported by the fact that Mary had been unable to reciprocate with a portrait of a high enough quality, Holbein having died in 1543, and Philip sent the Netherlandish artist Anthonis Mor to England in 1554 in order to have a likeness of his future wife.[167] Thus there was not an opportunity for a more usual exchange of works of art. The gift, or loan, did however have a continued presence in the Royal Collection. A version of the portrait, which was possibly made whilst the original was in England, was owned by Charles I. This was sold in 1649 but recovered at the Restoration; in it Philip is depicted at half-length, wearing a dark costume that is lined with white fur (Fig. 36).[168]

Fig. 36: Titian, after, *Philip II*, oil on panel, *c*. 1560-1599, The Royal Collection, RCIN 404973.

[165] *CSPS*, XI, p. 367.

[166] *CSPS*, XI, p. 408.

[167] D. Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (London, 1997), p. 100.

[168] J. Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 265.

These gifts illustrate the moments at which England was most closely associated with the affairs of Italy on a diplomatic level. Their decline, therefore, reflects not only the reinforcement of England's geographic isolation following the break with Rome, but also the resolution of the struggle for power that had taken place in Italy during the first half of the sixteenth century. The connection between this conflict and the presentation of Italian gifts was noted by Hall in his 1548 *Chronicle*. He wrote of the 'potentates and seignories of Italy', who, 'with desire of rule and appetite to be revenged ... destroyed the common weale' and 'thinkynge them selfes, not of force and puissance sufficient inough to bring their purpose to effect, and to revenge their quarrel ... entysed, stirred and procured with giftes, rewardes and promises, straungers and forayne nacions to their aide and assistance'.[169] The objects that arrived, therefore, not only exposed the English court to Italian material culture but also provide tangible evidence of the desire harboured by Italian rulers to create personal bonds of friendship and service between themselves and the Tudor monarchs.

[169] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 461.

Chapter 3

Gifts and Patronage

The inter-personal connections created by gift exchange were not only exploited at the diplomatic level but also in the more localised sphere of the English court. Individuals often presented gifts to the Tudor monarchs in order to foster a direct and unmediated relationship with them, and amongst these individuals were a number of Italians. At the end of the fifteenth century England was rumoured to be a wealthy country, and the papal envoy Persio Malvezzi was disappointed to report to Innocent VIII in 1489 that 'in this kingdom, which in Italy is supposed to be full of gold and silver, I have seen nothing of the sort'.[1] This reputation of wealth was enough to tempt individuals to travel and to make the journey across the Channel. Humanists, ecclesiastics, artisans, musicians and merchants brought examples of contemporary Italian culture and craftsmanship directly to the attention of the English rulers. Their gifts ranged in scale from lavishly embroidered items of clothing to far smaller items, such as a single melon, which was presented to Henry VIII by an anonymous 'ytalian' at Abingdon in 1532.[2] Each example sheds light on a different aspect of Anglo-Italian relations under the Tudors. The presentations offer insight into the political, economic and religious issues that drew some individuals across Europe to a distant court, whilst the gifts demonstrate exactly which skills they possessed that were thought to be pleasing enough, and perhaps unique enough, to win them Tudor patronage.

The characteristics of gift-giving - the obligation to give, to receive and to reciprocate – could not only be demonstrated by the carefully chosen gifts exchanged between princes, which strove to stress the equality of the participants, but also in situations when the status of the individuals involved was unequal. These asymmetrical exchanges often utilised different types of gift, for the gifts at the disposal of the higher status individual could not be matched by those of the lower status individual. Within the structure of the court the former had not only greater wealth but also greater influence and could dispense gifts of money and offices, such as ecclesiastical benefices or positions within a household. In return the most significant means by which the lower

[1] *CSPV*, I.551.

[2] Nicolas, *The Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 248.

status individual could reciprocate was through the offer of service. The inherent imbalance allowed this type of gift exchange to become 'a euphemism for patronage' in which the material assistance and protection of a patron was exchanged for the loyal service of a client.[3] Such patron-client relations can be understood as 'a distinct mode of regulating crucial aspects of institutional order',[4] and various historical studies have explored the way in which they permeated the early modern court.[5] Within this system the font of all patronage was the monarch, to whom all were forever in debt - a concept which can be seen in Spenser's description of Elizabeth as the fountain of grace in *The Fairie Queene*:

> Then pardon me, most dreaded Soveraine
> That from your selfe I doe this virtue bring,
> And to your selfe do it returne againe;
> So from the Ocean all rivers spring,
> And tribute backe repay as to their King. [6]

Rather than looking at the broader system of clientage, the gifts exchanged in patron-client relations will be explored within this study to exemplify their use to initiate, or reinforce, a personal relationship between an Italian individual and the English monarch - that is, the use of the gift to 'open the way for some other kind of transaction'.[7] It must be stressed that the Italians were not the only individuals to use gifts to open these 'channels of communication' that reached out across boundaries of status.[8] It was also not a new strategic development for building a relationship with a monarch. For

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[3] S. Kettering, 'Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France', *French History*, 2.2 (1988), pp. 131-2.

[4] S. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, 'Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22.1 (1980), p. 49.

[5] For two examples of such studies see S. Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1986), and L. Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, New York, 1993).

[6] L. Klein, 'Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50.2 (1997), pp. 467-8; E. Spenser, *The Faerie Queen*, ed. T. P. Roche Jnr. (Suffolk, 1978), Book VI, Pr7.

[7] Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', p. 69.

[8] Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, p. 72.

example, the Brescian Pietro Carmeliano presented a manuscript to Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1482 which opened with the lines:

> I thought for a long time, illustrious prince, about how I might make myself known to your highness and finally I decided that it might be possible if I were to give you some of my verses.[9]

When a gift was presented it created a link between the prospective patron and the hopeful client, because by its very nature it fostered a personal bond and any subsequent gifts would reinforce this. These gifts took many forms but shared a common approach: that 'the only gift is a portion of thyself ... therefore the poet brings his poem ... the sailor, coral and shells; the painter, his picture; the girl a handkerchief of her own sewing' and as a result 'a man's biography is conveyed in his gift'.[10] Thus, in the quest for patronage the choice of gift played a central role, and the presence of these examples of Italian material culture at the English court speaks in part for the Italian individuals who chose to engage with the Tudor monarchs.

The most common occasion for the presentation of gifts to the monarch was the ritualised exchange at New Year. This was the most important gift day of the year which sixteenth-century scholars linked to Roman and Druidic traditions.[11] The exchange of *strenae*, simple agricultural gifts, between family and friends was expanded to include the rulers as recipients, and from this the custom evolved into a more elaborate ceremony which cemented both horizontal and vertical social relationships.[12] At the English court the nobility, clergy, and some of the 'Gentlemen' and 'Ladies' of the household took part in this ceremonial exchange, which acknowledged past service

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[9] Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII*, p. 54; BL, MS Royal 12.A.XXIX, f. 1**: '**Cogitanti mihi iandudum Illustrissime princeps quonam pacto sublimitati tuae me notum facere possem id tandem mihi fieri posse arbitratus sum'.

[10] R.W. Emerson, 'Gifts' in A.D. Schrift ed., *The Logic of the Gift: Toward and Ethic of Generosity* (New York and London, 1997), p. 26.

[11] Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, p. 37.

[12] B. Buettner, 'Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400', *The Art Bulletin*, 83.4 (2001), p. 599.

and also contained the hope for its continuation.[13] The detailed nature of the gift rolls, which recorded the occasion, 'clearly demonstrate that the exchange of gifts was an important social, political and religious activity in sixteenth-century England, resonant with the nuances of rank, reciprocity, obligation and cost'.[14] The reciprocal gifts from the monarch tended to take the form of silver-gilt plate, a form that had an explicit value and thus could reflect both the value of the initial gift and the relationship with the individual. However, there were other occasions which also often prompted gifts, such as royal births, marriages and progresses. Also, if an individual seeking to present a gift had the support of a mediator, such as another Italian at court or an Italophile English courtier, more opportunities for access to the monarch were open to them.

The European context was often a crucial factor in an individual's search for patronage. However, there are some examples which can be tied directly to the diplomatic overtures discussed in the previous chapter, demonstrating how an individual's gift could be presented both in the service of a diplomatic goal and a personal one. One example of this was the manuscript of Latin panegyric poetry bound in crimson damask given by the itinerant poet Johannes Michael Nagonius to Henry VII.[15] The poem forecast a triumph for the king on a classical scale and emphasised the fact that he had brought peace and stability to England. Its frontispiece was lavishly illustrated and depicted the king riding in a triumphal car in a manner reminiscent of Petrarch's *Trionfi* (Fig. 37). The decorative repertoire of classical motifs in the border suggests that it was produced in Rome,[16] and the face-on depiction of Henry was likely to have been based on the newly designed gold sovereign, first minted in England in 1489.[17] Henry VII's reciprocation is recorded in a payment of £10, made to 'John Michael Nagonius, citizen

[13] A. Cope, *A Godly Meditacion* (London, 1547). Cope dedicated this work to Katherine Parr as a New Year's gift and the preface opens with an explanation for the giving of gifts at New Year. He believed that they should not 'be a token or presage of good fortune to come' but rather the gifts should be delivered 'onely as a testimony of the hertie service or lovynge myndes of the gyvers'.

[14] M. Hayward, 'Gift Giving at the Court of Henry VIII: The 1539 New Year's Gift Roll in Context', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 85 (2005), p. 125.

[15] York, York Minster Library, MS XVI.N.2. The Italian form of the poet's name is unknown.

[16] P. Gwynne, 'The Frontispiece to an Illuminated Panegyric of Henry VII: A Note on the Sources', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992), p. 266.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 268.

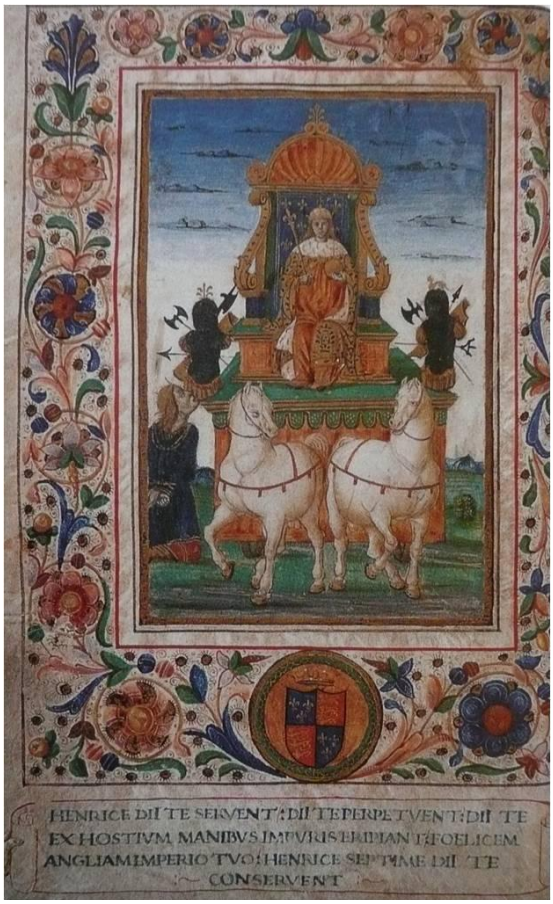

Fig. 37: Johannes Michael Nagonius, York Minster Library, MS XVI N.2, f. 1.

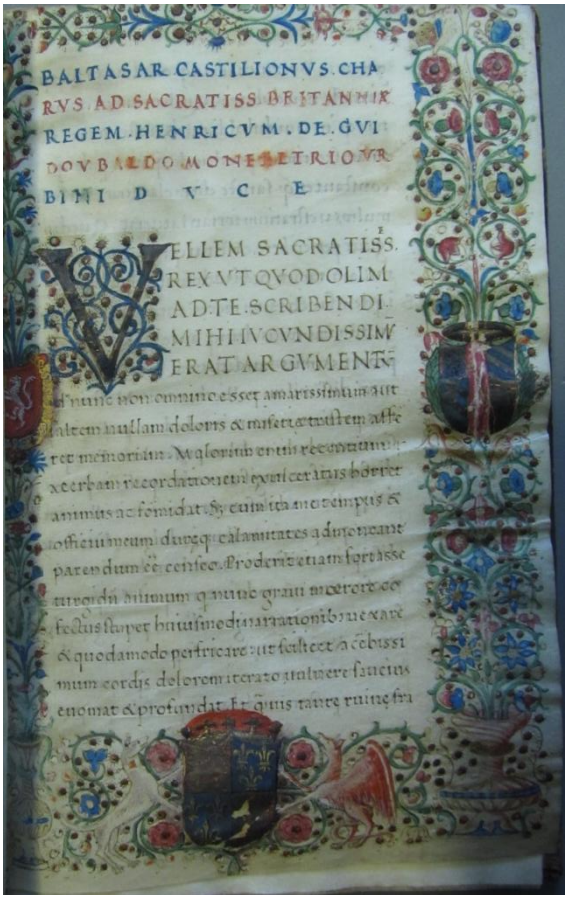

Fig. 38: Baldassare Castiglione, *Ad Henricum Angliae Regem epistola de vita et gestis Guidubaldi Urbini Ducis*, Philadelphia, Philip H and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, MS 239/25, f. 1.

of Rome, of his fre will and mere motion is comen at this tyme to see us and hath offered us his service', and in a further gift of £20 'To an Italian, a poete', which is assumed to relate to Nagonius.[18] It would thus appear that Nagonius travelled to England on his own initiative to seek some form of patronage, and was successfully received at court. However, the assertion that he came simply to offer his service was not completely accurate, for Nagonius arrived bearing the recommendation of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, England's Cardinal Protector in Rome, and it was to the cardinal that Henry had written to report the receipt of the gift.[19] It is this connection that ties the presentation into a wider diplomatic context, for the poem makes explicit reference to Henry VII's receipt of a sword from Alexander VI.[20] This helps to confirm the year of the presentation because the papal sword and cap were formally received at St. Paul's on 1 November 1496, having been blessed by the pope almost a year earlier on 24 December. However, there is no evidence that Nagonius was the orator who brought the sword and cap to England. The poem states that Henry was to use the sword in the defence of both England and Christendom and thus Nagonius' gift was bound up with that from the pope in its aim of encouraging Henry to join the Holy League against the French in Italy.

Similarly, the Latin epistle 'Ad Henricum Angliae Regem epistola de vita et gestis Guidubaldi Urbini Duci',[21] sent by Baldassare Castiglione to Henry VII, had its roots in a diplomatic gift exchange. It was written to inform the English king of the death of the Duke of Urbino in April 1508. The epistle was on vellum with script and illumination by Federigo Vetenari, who had been Guidobaldo da Montefeltro's librarian. The first folio depicted Castiglione's arms encircled by the gold collar of 'SS', with which he had been presented on his visit to England in 1506, when he acted as proxy for the investiture of the Duke of Urbino into the Order of the Garter (Fig. 38). The inclusion of the English royal arms suggests that the manuscript was intended for presentation to the

[18] P. Gwynne, 'The Life and Works of Johannes Michael Nagonius *poeta laureatus c.* 1450 – *c.* 1510', PhD Thesis (Warburg Institute, 1990), pp. 153-4; S. Bentley, ed., 'Extracts from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Seventh' in *Excerpta Historica or Illustrations of English History* (London, 1831), p. 108.

[19] Gwynne, 'The Life and Works', p. 153.

[20] *Ibid*., p. 153.

[21] Philadelphia, Philip H and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, MS 239/25.

king, and it is possible that the new duke, Francesco Maria della Rovere, coveted election to the Order of the Garter and thus Castiglione tied a personal attempt to solicit patronage to the desires of his own prince.[22] However, it appears to have been unsuccessful. This could have been a simple matter of timing; despite the haste evident in its production, the manuscript may not have reached England before Henry VII's death in April 1509 and Henry VIII may not have felt the need to respond. This was not unusual; Castiglione's attempts to solicit the patronage of Francis I also failed, and it was not until 1529 that he received the rich benefice of the bishopric of Avila from Charles V.[23] There is a postscript to this gift - it was published by Ottaviano de' Petrucci in 1513, and thus reached a far wider audience than the English court. This, however, was not a further attempt to seek patronage and the English royal arms were not included in the decorative scheme of the published edition.[24] This was probably because it was done without the author's knowledge or approval but rather arose from Petrucci's own sense of gratitude to the late duke.[25]

Unsurprisingly, Henry VIII, the Tudor monarch most directly involved in the affairs of Italy, also received gifts from individuals which were ultimately connected to diplomatic goals. One of the most unusual of these was the presentation of two books by the Florentine merchant Pierfrancesco di Piero Bardi, a relation of the Florentine consul Francesco de' Bardi who had met with Henry when Florence was besieged by the pope and the emperor and had been involved in the proposal by which the king could have offered financial assistance.[26] Within this context Pierfrancesco had shown himself to be sympathetic to Henry's position in the king's conflict with the pope - he

[22] C.H. Clough, 'Baldassare Castiglione's Presentation Manuscript to King Henry VII' in *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance* (London, 1981), pp. 1-5; C.H. Clough, 'Baldassare Castiglione's *Ad Henricum Angliae Regem epistola de vita et gestis Guidubaldi Urbini Ducis*' in *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance*, p. 231.

[23] Clough, 'Baldassare Castiglione's Presentation Manuscript', p. 5.

[24] *Balthasaris Castilionii Ad Henricum Angliae Regem Epistola de vita et gestis Guidubaldi Urbini Ducis* (Fossombrone, 1513).

[25] Clough, 'Baldessare Castiglione's *Ad Henricum Angliae Regem'*, p. 229.

[26] *L&P*, IV.iii.6774. Roth, 'England and the Last Florentine Republic', p. 187, n. 2. Roth shows that this should be dated to 25 April 1530.

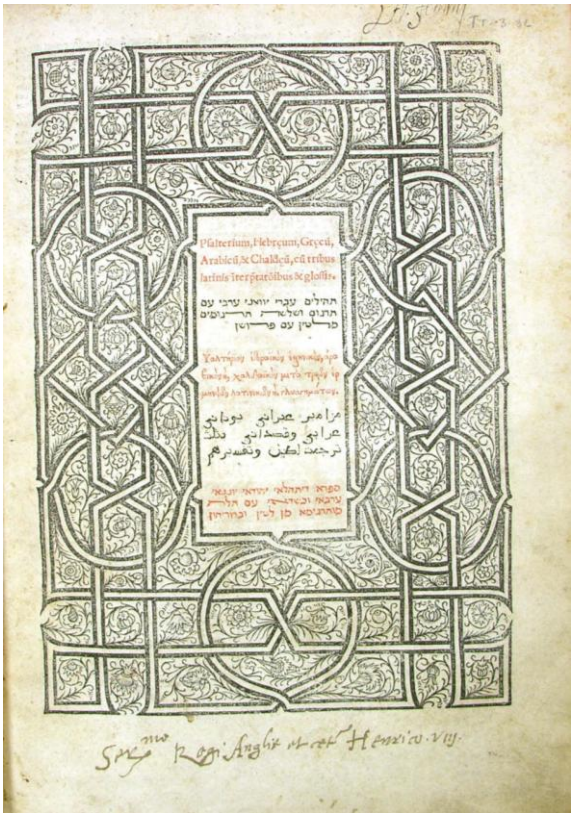

Fig. 39: *Psalterium octuplex*, St. John's College, Cambridge, Tt.3.31, title page.

Fig. 40: *Psalterium octuplex*, St. John's College, Cambridge, Tt.3.31, f. B vii.

passed letters from Wolsey's former physician Agostini, who was at Charles V's court, to Cromwell in 1531 and also pledged his allegiance to Cromwell.[27] The books that he gave to the king were his personal copies, with annotations, of the *Psalterium octuplex* (Figs. 39 and 40),[28] and the *Mirabilis liber*, the latter being a collection of Girolamo Savonarola's prophesies concerning an emerging world emperor and an angelic pope.[29] Bardi's commentary connected biblical quotations with episodes from his own life. These were intended to throw light on Henry's situation and, through the parallel of Savonarola and Charles VIII, to encourage him to move to depose the pope.[30] It seems likely that the books were given to the king at New Year 1532, through the mediation of Cromwell, and could 'perhaps be read as a sequel to his relation Francesco's conversation with the king, Henry's tardy support, and the fall of the republic in August 1530'.[31] However, what is most interesting about this gift is the way in which the presentation of an annotated book provided the means by which an alien resident in England could attempt to counsel the king.[32]

Ferrara too looked to Henry as a possible source of support against the pope. In contrast to the previous example, where Cromwell acted as a key intermediary between the Florentine and the king, it was Cromwell's fall in 1540 which aroused hope that England could return to the Catholic fold and prompted the presentation of a gift. In 1542 Sir William Paget, English ambassador in Paris, received a letter and parcel for the king. It contained a commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* with a prefatory Latin dedication to Henry by Antonio Musa Brasavola, professor of medicine at Ferrara from 1536 until his death in 1555.[33] Brasavola had been physician to Francis I and had had personal contact with Henry VIII, attending to the English king when he was in

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[27] *L&P*, V.474; Addenda I.i.726.

[28] Cambridge, St. John's College Tt.3.31.

[29] London, Lambeth Palace Library, IJ1815.M5. For a full discussion of the gift of these books see J. Carley, 'Religious Controversy and Marginalia: Pierfrancesco di Piero Bardi, Thomas Wakefield, and Their Books', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 12.3 (2002), pp. 206-45.

[30] *Ibid*., p. 223.

[31] *Ibid*., p. 226.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 233.

[33] V. Nutton, 'Medicine, Diplomacy and Finance: The Prefaces to a Hippocratic Commentary of 1541', in J. Henry and S. Hutton, eds., *New Perspectives on Renaissance Thought* (1990), pp. 230-43.

France.[34] The presentation copy survives at Hatfield house, identified by the fact that it is written in Brasavola's own hand,[35] and the dedication was also included in the edition printed by Froben in Basel in 1541.[36] At the time of the gift the author was closely connected to the d' Este family, both as physician and as advisor, and thus it is probable that it was connected to the Ferrarese attempt to resist the territorial ambitions of the Farnese pope, Paul III. This is supported by the fact that the Duke of Ferrara later looked to France for an alliance and again Brasavola gave a gift to the ruling monarch, dedicating a further commentary on Hippocrates to Francis I in 1546.

Of a slightly different nature was the dedication by Niccolò Tartaglia of his work on ballistics, *Quesiti e inventioni diverse*, to Henry VIII in 1546. This was not an attempt to influence Henry's foreign policy, but was still made in response to the more general European diplomatic situation, rather than as part of a desire for individual patronage. Tartaglia's dedication states that the gift was 'offered and dedicated – not as something necessary to your Majesty', but he was being somewhat disingenuous.[37] The *Quesiti* offered a practical analysis of questions relating to ballistics written in Italian and Tartaglia was well aware of the potential value of such information. In 1537 he had dedicated his *Nova Scientia*, the conclusions of which are expanded on in the first book of the *Quesiti*, to the Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria della Rovere, with the explicit intention that although such knowledge on the destruction of human life was damnable by God, he was publicising it in order that Christian rulers could defend themselves against the Turk.[38] Thus the dedication of the *Quesiti* to Henry can be understood as

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[34] Furdell, *The Royal Doctors*, p. 28.

[35] Nutton, 'Medicine, Diplomacy and Finance', p. 241; Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 294/1.

[36] A. Brasavola, *Antonii Musae Brasavoli medici ferrariensis in octo libros aphorismorum Hippocratis & Galeni, Commentaria & Annotationes* (Basel, 1541).

[37] S. Drake and I.E. Drabkin, eds., *Mechanics in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Selections from Tartaglia, Benedetti, Guido Ubaldo & Galileo* (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969), p. 100; N. Tartaglia, *Quesiti et inventioni diverse de Nicolo Tartalea Brisciano* (Venice, 1546), f. A iii: 'a quella offerire, & dedicare, non come cosa conveniente a vostra Sublimita'.

[38] N. Tartaglia, *Nova scientia inventa da N. Tartalea* (Venice, 1537), f. A ii verso: 'Ma poi fra me pensando un giorno (Magnanimo Duca) mi parve cosa biasmevole, vituperosa, et crudele, et degna di non puoca punitione appresso a lddio, a voler studiare di assotigliare tal essercitio dannoso al prossimo, imodestrutore della specie humana, et massime de Christiani in lor continue guerre ... Ma hor vedendo il luppo desideroso de intrar nel nostro armento et accordato insieme alla diffesa ogni nostro pastore non mi

part of the author's campaign to inform the Christian princes of his discoveries. However, Henry was also a carefully chosen recipient for Tartaglia had been made aware of the English king's fascination with 'all matters pertaining to war' by his student Richard Wentworth and thus knew that the gift would be well received.[39] The general diplomatic situation in Europe was important too, because in 1546 Tartaglia would have been well aware of Henry's use of Italian captains in Venice and the Veneto to recruit men for his campaigns against France, a call to which so many responded that the English agent in Venice, Edmund Harvel wrote to the king in 1544 that it seemed 'as though all Italy were under your Majesty's empire and at his commandment'.[40] Tartaglia had no cause to favour the French, having been wounded by them as a child during the sack of Brescia in 1512 – his name Tartaglia, 'stutter', actually stemmed from this injury, he had been born Niccolò Fontana - and thus it would seem that his gift arose, not so much out of the desire to serve the English king but rather to act against the French. His gift was even carried to England by the hand of one of the Italian captains responsible for recruiting soldiers in northern Italy, Filippo Pini.[41] That it was this very group of Italians in the service of the English king who Tartaglia wished to reach is evident in the fact that the *Quesiti* was a work in Italian, written in a 'rough and base style' as the dedication puts it, rather than in Latin.[42] Nonetheless, Henry could well have been able to understand it, and even if not it would have been easily translatable by the many individuals at the English court who could speak Italian.[43]

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par licito al presente di tenere tai cose occulte, anci ho delibverato di publicarle parte in scritto, et parte viva voci a ogni fidel christiano, acchioche cadauno sia meglio atto sin el offendere come nel diffendersi da quello'.

[39] Tartaglia, *Quesiti et inventioni diverse*, f. A iii: 'mi disse anchora, qualmente vostra Celsitudine si dilettava grandamente di tutte le cose alla guerra pertinente'. Brown, *Four Years*¸ II, p. 192. The Venetian ambassador Giustinian reported in June 1518 that when Henry VIII visited the Venetian galleys at Southampton 'he chose to have all the guns fired again and again; marking their range, as he is very curious about matters of this kind'.

[40] *L&P*, XX.i.292.

[41] *L&P*, XXI.i.1482.

[42] Tartaglia, *Quesiti et inventioni diverse*, f. A iii: 'prononciate con rozzo et basso stile'.

[43] In 1588 an English translation of the work was printed by John Harrison: C. Lucar, *Three Bookes of Colloquies Concerning the Arte of Shooting* (London, 1588).

Tartaglia was not the only Italian to follow this strategy of dedicating works intended for an Italian audience to an English monarch; other examples can be found in the works of Pietro Aretino and Michelangelo Florio. Aretino came to Cromwell's attention following the inclusion of his favourable opinion of Henry VIII's divorce in his *Pronosticon*. Aretino was sent 300 *scudi*,[44] and decided to capitalise on this by dedicating his second volume of letters to Henry in 1542,[45] using the English ambassador in Venice, Edmund Harvel, to ensure that the king received a copy. The letter that Aretino also wrote to Pietro Vanni during the same period suggests that he was hoping to receive some form of office in return, and so he must have been slightly disappointed to receive only a further gift of money.[46] He was also motivated by more than a desire for personal reward. Harvel's letter accompanying the book praised Aretino as 'much famous for his wit and liberty of writing in th'Italian tongue', and stated that 'he has long been persecuted by the Roman prelates, whose detestable vices he has scourged with his vehement and sharp style'.[47] Thus the dedication was in part given 'in spite of the Roman prelates'.[48] This approach then throws further light on Aretino's sonnet and letter addressed to Mary on her accession.[49] Instead of simply being a further attempt to secure royal patronage, it could also have been an attempt to display the author's Catholic loyalty 'in the newly vigilant Italian climate', because 'in its survey of the dogma, ceremony, and piety ... it reads more emphatically as self-

[44] *L&P,* XVII.841. Harvel, in his letter to Henry accompanying the book, noted that Aretino venerated Henry 'both for the 300 crs [crowns?] you before gave him and for his virtues'.

[45] P. Aretino, *Pietro Aretino: Lettere*, P. Procaccioli, ed., 6 vols. (1997-2002), II, p. 15**:** 'Dal che voi, Re inclito, per simigliare ne la eccellenza di tutte le virtú a l'Aquila, signoreggiante ogni uccello, meritate onore e gloria, ecco ch'io vengo a onoravi e a glorificarvi con l'offerta di questo mio piccolo parto.'

[46] *Ibid*., II, p. 431: 'E però nel porgersi a l'altezza del Signor vostro il libro che le ho intitolato, siatemi largo d'uno di quegli uffizii che io desidere ottenere, e che voi potete farmi'. *L&P,* XXI.ii.775, f. 94. A book of payments by the Treasurer of Augmentations for 1546-7 included '75l to Petro Aretino who dedicated a book to the King's said Majesty' which suggests that the money was very slow to arrive.

[47] *L&P,* XVII.841.

[48] *Ibid*., XVII.841. Aretino was not alone in following this strategy, *L&P,* XIV.ii.280. Edmund Harvel had earlier reported to Cromwell in October 1539 that an edition of the Bible had been dedicated to Henry VIII by Brucioli in order to anger the Bishop of Rome.

[49] Aretino, *Pietro Aretino: Lettere*, VI, pp. 15-17, 339-40.

defense than as a tribute to the new queen'.[50] Thus the gift to the English monarch was intended to be read by an Italian audience.

Seventeen years later the dedication by the apostate Franciscan, Michelangelo Florio, of his Italian translation of Georgius Agricola's *De re mettalica* to Elizabeth made this discrepancy between the recipient of the gift and the intended audience for the work even more evident.[51] Florio had been commissioned to undertake the translation by the Froben publishing house in Basel with the explicit intention that it could be used across Italy, a choice which influenced the writing style and resulted in the use of Latin technical terms rather than Tuscan ones.[52] Florio had lived in England during Edward VI's reign and had taken up a role as preacher to the Italian community. After some form of scandal he was stripped of his position and took up language teaching, becoming tutor to Lady Jane Grey whilst he lived in the Duke of Suffolk's household and dedicating to her his 'Regole et institutioni della lingua thoscana'.[53] He thus may also have had contact with Elizabeth, or at least knew enough of her skill in languages to consider dedicating a work in Italian to her, which makes his gift far more personal than that of either Tartaglia or Aretino.[54] Further context to the dedication is provided by the fact that before the scandal he had lived in William Cecil's household and during this period Cecil was actively promoting scientific research into areas such as mining.[55]

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[50] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 102.

[51] For a brief biography of Michelangelo Florio see the first chapter of F. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 1-26.

[52] M. Florio, *Opera di Giorgio Agricola de l'arte de metalli partita in XII, Libri* (Basel, 1563), address to the reader: 'gl'honorati Frobenij, per li quail l'ho tradotto, si sarebbeno potuti giustisimamente dolere di me, con dirmi che esi non me l'hanno fatto tradurre per venderlo solamente a Firenze, ma in ogni altra parte d'Italia'.

[53] BL, MS Sloane 3011. For a published edition of this manuscript see G. Pellegrini, 'Michelangelo Florio e le sue "Regole de la lingua thoscana"', *Studi di filologia Italiana*, 12 (1954), pp. 77-204.

[54] Florio, *Opera di Giorgio Agricola*, dedicatory letter: 'E perche io so benissimo, o Serenissima & Religiosissima Regina, che non meno, infino de la sua piu giovenil etade, la V.M.S. s'e ingegnata d'intendere, e parlare questa mia lingua'.

[55] Harkness, *The Jewel House*, pp. 169-79. Harkness discusses Cecil's role as a go-between for mineral speculators who sought royal patronage during a period when the interest in minerals and metals was made more acute by England's currency crisis. Florio, *Opera di Giorgio Agricola*, dedicatory letter. Florio's dedication to the queen appears to place his gift firmly within this context: 'so ancora che

Thus Florio would have been well aware that the gift would be appreciated in England. However, the inherent disjunction between the dedication and the text accounts for the fact that very few copies of the work survive, and of those that do, most have been mutilated and lack the dedication, such as the copy in the British Library which has only the final part of the dedicatory letter bound in because the preface is on the verso.[56]

As can be seen by this selection of examples, often the most readily identifiable of all the forms of gift to have survived are the literary ones: presentation manuscripts and dedicated books. Erasmus wrote in 1518 of a fellow scholar that 'since he isn't able to sell his books he goes about offering them as gifts to important people; he makes more that way than if he had sold them'.[57] The mode of the gift, as well as being a practical solution to disseminating something with an undefined market value, allowed the scholar to step away from overt mercantile exchange and thus elevate his transaction with a patron above the market. Furthermore, a generous response to a one-off presentation allowed the monarch to demonstrate magnificence through patronage. It became a form of conspicuous consumption that asserted nobility. In this respect literary patronage was particularly suited because it could involve the exercise of judgment as well as wasteful expenditure.[58] The shift from manuscript to printed book, however, altered the mode of the presentation. From being associated with a one-off event in which 'the presentation was chiefly a matter of performing the magnificence of the king',[59] and which related to an individual material item, the gift became public and travelled beyond the confines of the English court, thus portraying the monarch's magnificence on a far larger scale, whilst at the same time allowing the presentation

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l'altissimo Dio per sua misericordia e liberal bonta, abbondantissimo ha fatto di varie minere di metalli coesto regno d'inghilterra'.

[56] J. Tedeschi, 'The Cultural Contributions of Italian Protestant Reformers in the Late Renaissance', *Schifanoya: Notizie dell'istituto di studi rinascimentali di Ferrara*, 1 (1986), p. 131.

[57] N. Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 33 (1983), p. 69; Allen and Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, III, p. 424, ep. 886: 'Opus quoniam vendi non potest, donat magnatibus obambulans, atque ita charius vendit quam si venderet'.

[58] D. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto, 1993), p. 7.

[59] D. Carlson, 'The 'Opicius' Poems (British Library, Cotton Vespasian B.iv) and the Humanist Anti-Literature in Early Tudor England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 56.3 (2002), p. 869.

itself to be enacted at one remove from the donor. Also, whilst the printed book was in itself of less material value than a lavishly illustrated manuscript the broad dissemination of its contents could ensure that the gift encompassed more than the act of its presentation. While the authors already discussed could all be considered opportunistic in their gift presentations to the English monarch, none, with the possible exception of Michelangelo Florio, sought to establish themselves in England. By contrast, the gifts discussed below are of a slightly different nature, for in general they were made by individuals who were seeking to secure a more long-term position for themselves in England.

One such individual was Johannes Opicius, who presented a selection of Latin poems to Henry VII, probably at New Year 1493.[60] What differentiates Opicius' presentation from that of an individual such as Nagonius was that he had more connections in England. His father, 'Petrus Opicius', a merchant from Montferrat, was listed in the 1483-4 Alien Subsidy Roll.[61] Opicius' Latin poems displayed his classical learning and included what was possibly the first pastoral verse dialogue to have been written in England, as well as a celebration of Henry VII's military campaign in north-western France.[62] They were presented in the form of a book with three historiated initials with a Tudor Rose, Beaufort portcullis and Dragon rouge (Fig. 41). The opening recto also included the crowned royal arms of England. The closing poem *Ad regem* was a direct address to the king to excuse the poet's youth and is suggestive of the way in which the presentation of the gift was performed. The closing lines explain that 'At first, trees yield fruits bitter to the taste; given time the yield then turns flavourful',[63] and was thus fairly overt in its goal of establishing a patron-client relationship with the English king. The monarch's response is unfortunately not known.

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[60] BL, MS Cotton, Vespasian B.iv; J. Backhouse, 'A Salute to the Tudor Rose', in A. Raman and E. Manning, eds., *Miscellanea Martin Wittek* (Louvain, 1993), pp. 1-13.

[61] J.L. Bolton, *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 & 1483-4* (Stamford, 1998), p. 71.

[62] BL, MS Cotton, Vespasian B.iv.

[63] Carlson, 'The Opicius Poems', p. 898: 'Arboribus primo fructus edendtur acerbi / Tempore mox fiunt mitia poma suo'.

With literary gifts, the object that was presented, such as a sumptuously illustrated book, often survive long after information about the circumstances surrounding the presentation has been lost. This can lead to diverse interpretations of the nature and success of a gift. For example, the gift of a manuscript translation from Greek into Latin hexameters of the *Tabula Cebetis* by the Mantuan Servite Friar Filipo Alberici has been interpreted as a 'failed' gift for two different reasons: the king's response was either derisory, or the author may never even have been able to present the manuscript.[64] An undated manuscript of this text survives at the British Library with a verse dedication to Henry VII,[65] and it also includes two poems following the main text, the first of which celebrates a visit by the king to Cambridge. These have been used to suggest dates for the manuscript because Henry VII visited Cambridge in late April 1506 and again in July 1507. Carlson believed the poem related to the earlier visit which would mean that the presentation was not connected to a payment of 100s made 'to a monke of Italy that gave the kings grace a booke' on 3 August 1507.[66] This would, therefore, appear to have been a humiliating rebuttal of Alberici's request for patronage, or at least an excessively slow response by the king for by August 1507 the Italian had already left England.[67] Rundle, however, noted that in a letter written in August 1508 Alberici recalled that he had visited England 'the previous summer', which would imply that the poem actually relates to the 1507 visit to Cambridge.[68] The manuscript also mentions the Prince of Wales, who only accompanied the king on the later visit.[69] Rundle's analysis raises the possibility that the Arundel manuscript was not the king's presentation copy. He stresses that the presence of the second poem, *De mortis effectibus*, which was not dedicated to the king but rather to Joachim Bretoner, indicates that after failing to give the book to the king, Alberici settled on presenting it to a lesser

[64] Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, p. 20; D. Rundle, 'Henry VII and Richard Fox: The English Fortunes of a Little-Known Italian Humanist', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 68 (2005), p. 145.

[65] BL, MS Arundel 317.

[66] TNA, E36/214, f. 90v. Carlson records the king's reward as 10s rather than 100s.

[67] Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, p. 190, n.6.

[68] Rundle, 'Henry VII and Richard Fox', p. 138; P.S. and H.M. Allen, *Letters of Richard Fox 1486-1527* (Oxford, 1929), p. 41: 'Quum superior estate me amor vestry in istas oras appulissett, acidit ut mihi cum excellent Regis protomedico Io. Baptista Boerio de re litteraria sermo fieret'.

[69] Rundle, 'Henry VII and Richard Fox', p. 140.

patron.[70] The contents of the letter to Bretoner, however, suggest that the analysis can be taken further; it implies that there was another copy of the *Tabula* which Alberici was still intending to present to the king. In the letter Alberici writes of 'the *Tabula Cebetis* which I recently described in verse', and states that he 'will still not offer that *Tabula* to anyone except your king'.[71] The reference to 'that *Tabula*' and its description in verse suggests that the other copy would likely have been very lavish, because the Arundel manuscript itself is beautifully illustrated. It would thus have been this gift that prompted the August payment for the gift of a book, for Alberici remains the most likely individual to be identified as the 'monke of Italy'. This would not be the first time that a gift to Henry was also presented to another patron. Giovanni Gigli's *De observantia quadragesimali* exists in a presentation copy for Richard Fox but it is presumed that there was also a copy for the king.[72] This was a risky strategy as the king could take offence if he felt deceived by a literary gift. Erasmus recounted in a letter to the French humanist Germain de Brie in 1531 how Henry VII had looked on Linacre as an imposter after being told that a translation of Proculus which Linacre presented to him was not the first translation to be made of the work.[73] Nonetheless, Alberici's exchange can be viewed as a successful one-off event; the author managed to present his work and the king reciprocated with money, but it failed to secure Alberici long-term patronage.

This could in part be due to the success of an earlier gift presentation by an Italian which had allowed the donor, Pietro Carmeliano, to find a position at the English court. The skills offered by Alberici were those associated with, although not limited to, humanists, and included a mastery of Latin that allowed these individuals to act as tutors, orators and secretaries. Henry VII was highly receptive to such exchanges

[70] *Ibid*., p. 145.

[71] *Ibid*., p. 144; BL, Arundel 317, f. 24v: 'ut Cebetis tabulam ame dudum carminibus intextam tibi impartirer: quum tamen nulli adhuc nisi Regi vestro eam concesserim'.

[72] BL, MS Harley 336; Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, p. 209, n. 29.

[73] Armstrong, 'An Italian Astrologer at the Court of Henry VII', p. 453; Allen and Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, IX, no. 2422: 'Thomae Linacro pessime cessit quod Proculum a se denuo versum Regi huius patri dicarat. Anreas quidam Tolasates, praeceptor Arcturi Principis, et in regnum paternum successuri nisi mors anteuertisset caecus adulator, nec adulator tantum sed et delator pessimus, Regem admonuit hoc libelli iam olim fuisse versum a nescio quo; et erat, sed misere. Hanc ob causam Rex et munus aspernatus est, et in Linacrum velut in impostorem inexpiabile concepit odium'.

Fig. 41: Johannes Opicius, *De regis laudibus sub praetextu rosae purpureae*, BL Cotton MS Vespasian B.iv, f. 14.

Figs. 42 and 43: Pietro Carmeliano, *Suasoria Laeticiae*, BL Add. MS 33736, ff. 1v-2.

because he was in need both of scholarly justification and celebration of his accession, and of individuals who would enable him to present himself as the equal of other monarchs on the European stage. Nonetheless, this aspect of recruitment, which drew Italians to England in search of more favourable conditions away from the competition that arose from the large number of humanists on the peninsula,[74] was also limited, because when all posts in the household were filled, the monarch had less need to establish further patron-client relationships.

Carmeliano came to England from Brescia in the early 1480s and made presentations to Edward IV, Edward Prince of Wales and Richard III. However, it was his 'Suasoria Laeticiae ad Angliam pro sublatis bellis civilibus et Arthuro principe',[75] a slim volume celebrating the birth of Prince Arthur in 1486, that proved successful in establishing a long-term relationship with the English monarch, by this point the newly crowned Henry VII (Figs. 42 and 43). This piece has been described as 'a model of what worked to elicit patronage'.[76] An overtly political piece of writing it spoke in detail of recent political events, denigrating Richard III and reinforcing the new monarch's attempt to gain further legitimacy through sanctifying his ancestor Henry VI in its representation of the deposed king amongst the saints in heaven.[77] Within the year Carmeliano was awarded the right to a pension, in 1488 he received his patent of denization 'in consideration of his merits and services' and by 1500 he was one of the king's chaplains.[78] It was, however, perhaps the form of the manuscript as much as its content which helped Carmeliano to secure a position within the royal household, that of Latin Secretary to the king.[79] This was because the decoration served to highlight the humanist script and displayed the author's skills as a copyist as much as a Latinist. His presence in England at the beginning of Henry's reign mean that his gift was presented

[74] Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, p. 18.

[75] BL, MS Add. 33736.

[76] Carlson, *English Humanist Books*, p. 59.

[77] *Ibid*., p. 49.

[78] W. Campbell, ed., *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII: From Original Documents preserved in the Public Record Office*, 2 vols. (London, 1873) II, pp. 38, 289.

[79] J. Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary and the Signet Office in the XV Century* (Cambridge, 1939), Appendix F, pp. 190-1. The post of Latin Secretary first appeared under the Tudors and the office holder was employed in foreign correspondence with every country apart from France.

at an apposite moment as the new king sought to establish himself on the European stage, and thus desired that all international correspondence was presented in a suitable manner. Henry's patronage of Carmeliano was of a practical nature; it was not intended to display magnificence but rather to utilise his skills, and this seems to have allowed Carmeliano to overcome the fact that he was acting without the support of a mediator at court. By contrast, when his Italian successor in the post, Andrea Ammonio,[80] first came to England, he had the support of his fellow Lucchese Giovanni Gigli, Bishop of Worcester, who was Henry VII's ambassador in Rome. Similarly, Ammonio's successor Pietro Vanni, known in England as Peter Vannes, was a kinsman of Ammonio and was introduced to Wolsey by Silvestro Gigli, Giovanni's nephew and also Bishop of Worcester. It was these connections rather than any gift that assisted both of them in their appointment to the royal household, which illustrates the way in which networks of Italian individuals came to operate at the Tudor court.

The presentation by Italians of practical calligraphic skills continued throughout the sixteenth century, as illustrated by the gifts from the Florentine Petruccio Ubaldini to both Edward VI and Elizabeth. Ubaldini first came to England to serve in a military capacity in Scotland for both Henry VIII and Edward VI but in 1550 he sought a post in royal service, demonstrating his skills in a manuscript containing specimens of calligraphy, possibly intended as a gift to the young king.[81] That it was his skill in calligraphy which he wished to emphasise is evident in the fact that in the same year he also dedicated 'Un libro d'esemplari scritto' to Sir Nicholas Bacon.[82] However, by this point the Italic hand had been adopted in England to such an extent that Englishmen, such as Roger Ascham, tutor to both Edward VI and Elizabeth, could take the role of Latin Secretary. Published manuals were also in circulation. For example, Edward VI

[80] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 61. Wyatt interpreted the appointment of Ammonio as 'a sign of Henry [VIII] so identifying the "nation" with himself and his business that an Italian granted English denizenship, as Ammonio was in 1514, could function in such a capacity, for where one's primary duty was understood as loyalty to the sovereign, one's "national" origins were, if not quite irrelevant, not a *de facto* hindrance in being privy to the complex and sensitive operations of state'. This argument would surely also be applicable to Henry VII's appointment of Pietro Carmeliano and thus was not an innovation of Henry VIII.

[81] BL, MS Royal 14 A.xvi.

[82] C. Clough, 'Ubaldini, Petruccio', *ODNB*, p. 846; BL, MS Royal 14.A.i.

owned a copy of the 1548 edition of Giovanni Battista Palatino's *Libro*.[83] Thus Ubaldini discovered that skill in calligraphy, such as had been offered by Carmeliano, was no longer enough to secure a position in the English royal household. He left England but returned in 1562 and renewed contact with the court circle through the patronage of Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel.[84] Throughout Elizabeth's reign his name regularly appears amongst the small group of Gentlemen at the end of the gift rolls, and he presented the queen with manuscripts, books, paintings and writing instruments.[85] He received an annual state pension in 1577 and it seems that he was ultimately successful in finding a position within the household, and that his 'biography is conveyed in his gift',[86] because in an indenture of the payment of subsidies assessed on the Royal Household in 1590, he was listed as 'scolemaster of the Henchmen'.[87] This seems indicative of the development during Elizabeth's reign of the appreciation of Italian as a language. Most of the works that Ubaldini gave were written in Italian, such as 'La vera forma e regola dell'eleggere e coronare in Imperadori' which included two introductory sonnets and small illuminated initials, given at New Year 1564.[88] He remained in England and made contact with English printers, which provided the opportunity to make a more public gift to Elizabeth in the 1591 dedication of the printed edition of *Le vite delle donne illustri del regno d'Inghilterra & del regno di Scotia*.[89]

The development of the printing industry meant that the printed dedication came to supersede the presentation manuscript as the form for the literary gift. Its more public

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[83] T.A. Birrell, *English Monarchs and Their Books: From Henry VII to Charles II* (London, 1987), p. 14.

[84] Clough, 'Ubaldini', p. 846.

[85] London, Society of Antiquaries MS 538, New Year's gift roll 1568: 'By Petrucio Ubaldino a paire of writing tables'; London, Society of Antiquaries MS 537, New Year's gift roll 1578: 'By Putrino two pictures thone of Judith and Holefernes thither of Jula and Sicera'; Nichols, ed., *Progresses*, p. 263: New Year 1579, 'By Petricho, a boke of Italian, with pictures of the lyfe and metomerpheses of Oved'; TNA C47/3/40, New Year's gift roll 1598: 'By Mr Peter Ubaldino one Booke of Italian covered with vellam'. These references demonstrate the variety of ways in which names could be written down. 'Putrino' is the furthest from the correct spelling but on the other side of the roll where the gifts from the queen are listed his name is spelt 'Petricio', which would suggest that it is a reference to Ubaldini.

[86] Emerson, 'Gifts', p. 26.

[87] Kirk and Kirk, *Returns*, II, p. 427.

[88] BL, MS Royal 14 A.viii.

[89] P. Ubaldini, *Le vite delle donne illustri del regno d'Inghilterra & del regno di Scotia* (London, 1591).

nature carried with it an enhanced prestige that was inherently appealing to the patron and thus, as has been seen in the cases of Aretino and Florio, was far more successful at gaining favour, or reminding the monarch of a pre-existing relationship, from afar. In 1507 Adriano Castellesi published his *De vera philosophia ex quattuor doctoribus ecclesiae* in Bologna and dedicated it to Henry VII in an attempt to reinforce his long-standing connection with England at a time when his own position in Rome was under threat.[90] In 1488 Castellesi had been sent as nuncio to mediate in the rebellion launched against James III of Scotland and had also been accredited to Henry VII, who persuaded him not to travel north.[91] During his period at the English court Henry VII 'admired his dignified character, and began greatly to cherish his friendship', and he wrote to the pope praising Adriano.[92] When in 1489 Giovanni Gigli returned to Rome to serve as English proctor, Castellesi was made papal collector. His success in this post led to him being made a denizen in 1492 and granted the preferment to various English benefices. By mid-1494 he had returned to Rome, but his intimacy with Alexander VI was later to count against him when Julius II became pope, and he lost influence.[93] He attempted to counter this by offering his palazzo to Henry VII in 1504 as lodgings for visiting ambassadors - this was the Palazzo Corneto that Henry VIII gave to Cardinal Campeggio in 1518 - but he was still not able to halt the rise of Silvestro Gigli, who managed to secure the necessary dispensation for Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon to marry. In September 1507 he was even forced to flee Rome for Venice for a short time after Julius II learnt that he had made a disparaging remark about him to Henry VII.[94] Thus the timing of the gift could have been particularly apposite in reminding the English king of his loyal service at a time when the cardinal was dangerously exposed.

An interesting attempt to manipulate the practice of using public dedications to solicit patronage was the case of Gian Matteo Giberti's 1529 presentation to Henry VIII of

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[90] For a discussion of this work see J. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore and London, 1983), pp. 169-88.

[91] M. Underwood, 'The Pope, the Queen and the King's Mother: or, the Rise and Fall of Adriano Castellesi', in B. Thompson ed., *The Reign of Henry VII* (Stamford, 1995), pp. 65-81.

[92] D. Hay, trans. and ed., 'The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil', *Camden Society*, 3rd series, 74 (1950), pp. 42-3: 'Interim Rex hominis gravitatem miratus iam tunc mirifice eum amare coepit'.

[93] For an account of Castellesi's career see G. Fragnito, 'Castellesi, Adriano', *DBI*, pp. 665-71.

[94] *Ibid*., p. 667.

John Chrysostom's commentary on the Pauline epistles.[95] The edition was the first text to be issued by the Venetian printers Nicolini da Sabbio et fratelli, whom Giberti, the Bishop of Verona, had brought from Venice and established in the bishop's palace in Verona. Henry's copy included a standard dedicatory epistle to Clement VII but was unique in also having a second epistle dedicated to the king by the Veronese scholar Bernardino Donato, which proclaimed that Giberti had 'resolved to commit to you this monument and pledge of his extraordinary love for you and of his utmost reverence and respect for your majesty'.[96] This sleight of hand gave the impression in England that Henry was a second dedicatee along with the pope for the entire print run. The context for this gift, and its duplicitous nature, was the strain being placed on the client-patron relationship by Henry VIII's divorce proceedings. Giberti had travelled to England in 1522 in order to rally support for Clement VII and had developed a good working relationship with Wolsey. His success in England was marked by his appointment as Bishop of Worcester in 1524, with an annual pension of 2000 ducats, in exchange for which Henry and Wolsey hoped to exploit his position in the curia. Giberti's potential influence was weakened following the sack of Rome when he returned to Verona and set about a conscious programme of ecclesiastical reforms based on humanist ideals, of which the dissemination of the writings of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers was an important component.[97] Nonetheless, his support in the divorce case was sought. The mode of the gift provided the perfect means for Giberti to 'show loyalty in an English context ... but to remain much more non-committal in Italy' because, whilst Henry's copy contained a dedication which displayed Giberti's loyalty, the copies that circulated generally within Italy made no mention of the English king.[98] Henry continued to exert pressure on the bishop, and as a result in 1532 Giberti sent another gift: a set of four volumes of biblical commentaries in Greek, the *Expositiones antiquae*.[99] Again, these

[95] For a full discussion of this gift see J. Carley, 'Henry VIII's Library and Humanist Donors: Gian Matteo Giberti as a Case Study', in J. Woolfson ed., *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 99-128.

[96] BL, C.24; Carley, 'Henry VIII's Library and Humanist Donors', p. 115: 'Huiusce amoris erga te sui incredibilis summaeque in tuam maiestatem reuerentiae atque obseruantiae monumentum hoc et pignus deponere apud te hoc tempore decreuit'.

[97] Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII*, p. 68.

[98] *Ibid*., p. 69.

[99] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, EP W2; Oxford, Bodleian Library, O. 2. 6,7 Th.

carried a unique, and yet printed, dedication, written by Bernardino Donato. This praised Henry and stated that Giberti:

> did not begin to love and honour you, I assure you, because you are the most powerful, the richest and the most fortunate of kings – which qualities, although in themselves great incitements to love and respect, are nevertheless external and in a certain sense not one's own – but because you are the most generous, the most just and the most invincible, alone surpassing all other kings and princes with the felicity of your character and the wisdom of your mind.[100]

However, these gifts failed to preserve Giberti's pension, possibly because during the same period he publically declared his support of Katherine of Aragon; the Sabbio printers under his patronage issued a defence of the indissolubility of the royal marriage by Lodovico Nogarola, Count of Verona, *Disputatio super reginae Britannorum divortio*, which was dedicated to Charles V.[101]

England's troubles with Rome did not bring to an end the literary gifts sent by Italians seeking patronage of some form from the Tudor monarchs, for one of the specific qualities of this form of gift was that it offered the rare opportunity to counsel the recipient. Just as Nagonius presented Henry VII with a manuscript that was intended to encourage him to join the Holy League and Pierfrancesco de Piero Bardi's marginalia illustrated the parallels between Henry VIII's situation and that of Florence, so various individuals dedicated works to the English monarchs which drew attention to a particular pathway through the religious controversies of the sixteenth century. For example, the Carmelite Friar, Giacomo Calco, was the author of a text that directly

[100] Carley, 'Henry VIII's Library and Humanist Donors', pp. 119-20: 'Non te ille amare coepit, ni fallor, aut colere, quod Rex esses, quod potentissimus, quod ditissimus, quod fortunatissimus – quae quanquam ipsa quoque amoris atque obseruantiae incitamenta maxima sunt, tamen externa quodam modo alienaque sunt – sed quod liberalissimus, quod iustissimus, quod inuictissimus, quod unus omnes alios reges principesque et ingenii felicitate et animi sapientia superares'.

[101] Carley, 'Henry VIII's Library', p. 104.

addressed the issue of whether a man may marry his brother's widow.[102] This was the first text to suggest that a break with Rome might provide a solution to Henry's matrimonial problems.[103] The manuscript so impressed Henry that he offered to make the friar Bishop of Salisbury, but Calco died before this was possible.

Unsurprisingly, the issue of religious reform provided crucial impetus to many of the Italians who sought to cultivate a personal relationship with Edward VI and Elizabeth I. Their gifts did not carry with them the promise of skills that could display the magnificence of the English monarch, which could be directly rewarded, but rather carried something more ephemeral, if no less important. Edward VI's court aspired to be 'both a refuge and rallying point' for continental Protestantism,[104] and, just as earlier Italian poets had provided panegyrics that proclaimed and justified Tudor rule, so the writings of the divines were a means of securing English reform. Hugh Latimer preached as much in front of the young King Edward in 1547, advising the king that 'I could wish that we could collect together such valuable persons in this kingdom; it would be the means of ensuring its prosperity'.[105] Amongst the continental reformers the Italians were especially revered because 'they were associated with the home of Renaissance humanism and they were religious exiles from the pope's own back garden'.[106] Thus the 1547 dedication of two works by the prominent reformer, Celio Secundo Curione, would have been a welcome gift,[107] and it is noticeable that that same year Bernardino Ochino arrived in London with a letter of introduction to John Cheeke from Curione. Curione later dedicated the 1562, 1570 and 1580 editions of *Omnium eruditissimae Latina et Graeca quae haberi potuerunt monumenta eaque plane divina*

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[102] V. Marchetti, 'Calco, Giacomo', *DBI*, pp. 531-3. Calco sought to address the question: 'An potest superstes frater fratris relictam absque liberis uxorem ducere'. Calco may well have had connections with the Venetian ambassador, which enabled him to gain access to Henry.

[103] S. Doran, ed., *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* (London, 2009), p. 132.

[104] M. A. Overell, 'Edwardian Court Humanism and *Il Beneficio di Cristo*, 1547-1553', in J. Woolfson, ed., *Reassessing Tudor Humanism'* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 151.

[105] J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars: History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London, 1550-1950*, trans. D. De Iongh (The Hague, 1950), p. 3.

[106] Overell, 'Edwardian Court Humanism', p. 164.

[107] Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward VI*, I, pp. cccxxx, cccxxxi. The books were: *De amplitudine misericordiae dei absolutissima Oratio* and *M. Tullii Ciceronis Philippicae Orationes XIIII.*

cum eruditorum de ipsa iudiciis et laudibus to Elizabeth.[108] Such overt association with a powerful patron could often offer protection against censorship and post-publication retribution.

The importance of the direct appeal to the monarch, and the protection that it offered, is evident in the dedication to Elizabeth of Iacopo Aconcio's 1565 apology for heresy, *De strategmatibus Satanae in religionis negotio*. Aconcio had worked in England as a military engineer and been granted an annuity of £60 in 1560 and letters of naturalisation a year later. His dedication expressed gratitude to Elizabeth for the pension which had provided him with the leisure for writing, but the work was nonetheless a direct attack on the Elizabethan religious settlement.[109] It was written in defence of one of the clergymen of the Dutch Protestant Church in London and was an argument for complete freedom in religion, which consequently denied the church and the state's right to persecute heresy. Its problematic nature is made clear by the fact that it was not published in England until 1631.

In certain cases the book dedication was the perfect gift for the English queen because of the distance that it allowed. Individuals who were not resident in England could proclaim the importance of England to the reforming cause in the dedication to the monarch whilst remaining safely distant and unable to 'infect England with the heterodoxy and radicalism for which Italian Protestants were by then famous'.[110] Pietro Martire Vermigli dedicated his *Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae* to Elizabeth in 1559.[111] A year later Bernardino Ochino dedicated his *Laberinti del libero arbitrio* to Elizabeth, fondly recalling their earlier association.[112] Both of these men had visited England during Edward VI's reign, the Spanish ambassador Van der Delft called them

[108] A. Biondi, 'Curione, Celio Secondo', *DBI*, pp. 443-9.

[109] E. Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York, 1955), p. 55.

[110] Overell, 'Edwardian Court Humanism', p. 165.

[111] P. Vermigli, *Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae* (Zurich, 1559).

[112] B. Ochino, *Prediche di M. Bernardino Ochino senese, nomate laberinti del libero arbitrio* (Basel, 1561): 'Et io ricordandomi, che gia in Inghilterra Vostra Maesta, havendo letti certi miei sermoni della predistinazione: & circa cio domandandomi di alcuni dubbij, non sol mi scoperse il suo bello, raro, & sottile ingegno: ma & anchora uno ardente desiderio di sapere gli alti & recondite segreti di Dio: ho giudicato che singularmente Vostra Altezza e per cavarne frutto; pero meritatamente a essa gli ho dedicati'.

'the pet children of the Archbishop of Canterbury',[113] and thus the personal register of the gift remains even though it was enacted at a distance. Elizabeth invited Ochino to return to England,[114] and in later years the Bishop of Aquila attributed some of her arguments to the influence of the 'heretic Italian friars'.[115] Thus, it is notable that as a consequence of the break with Rome, the literary gifts relating to religion exerted far more of an influence than those of the earlier Italian ecclesiastics such as Giberti, Gigli and Castellesi, who had simply used their presentations to secure personal patronage.

Authors, clerics and writing masters were not the only Italian individuals to solicit the patronage of the Tudor monarchs through gifts, and perhaps it is with these other types of object that the desire for royal patronage is most clearly displayed, because the gifts themselves were not loaded with the extra significance of the text that is contained within a literary gift. For example, a contemporary chronicler recorded that the Venetian Giovanni Caboto, more widely known as John Cabot, persuaded Henry VII in 1498 to provide and victual a ship for a voyage to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia by means of 'a caart & othir demonstracions Resonable'.[116] It is not clear whether these were given to the king but it is a possibility, for other Italian cartographers did choose to present the English monarchs with maps. Richard Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages* of 1582 referred to a map by the Florentine navigator Giovanni da Verrazano, and explicitly stated that it had been given to Henry VIII.[117] This map seems to have been made by Giovanni's brother Girolamo, and it was probably given in 1525 or 1526, during which time the

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[113] *CSPS*, IX, p. 266.

[114] Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, p. 95.

[115] Yates, *John Florio*, p. 8, citing A. Ward, G. Prothero and S. Leathers, eds., *The Cambridge Modern History*, 13 vols. (Cambridge, 1902-12), II: The Reformation, p. 563.

[116] Thomas and Thornley, *The Great Chronicle*, p. 287. For a survey of Giovanni and Sebastiano Caboto's roles in English exploration see J. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII* (Cambridge, 1962) and D. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America 1481-1620* (London, 1974).

[117] R. Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages* (London, 1582), from the dedicatory epistle, in reference to the North West passage: 'master John Verarzanus, which had been thrise on that coast, in an olde excellent mappe, which he gave to king Henrie the eight, and is yet in the custodie of master Locke, doth so lay it out'. J. McDermott, 'Lok, Michael', *ODNB*, pp. 330-1. Michael Lok was a mercer and merchant adventurer who had a collection of cosmographical data which he put at the disposal of Hakluyt. He was involved in Martin Frobisher's proposal to discover a sea route to 'Cathay' via the north-west.

brothers' patron, Francis I, was imprisoned in Spain.[118] The gift had an interesting legacy for Hakluyt was using the map in his attempt to persuade Philip Sidney of the existence of a north-west passage, and thus to encourage English overseas enterprise.[119] A woodcut world map showing a north-west passage, which was designed by Giovanni Caboto's son Sebastiano and cut by Clement Adams in 1549, hung in Whitehall during the reign of Edward VI.[120] This map was a revised version of a map from 1544 and incorporated the North American discoveries that Sebastiano had made many years earlier whilst in English service, which he had kept secret during his employment in Spain, and as a result it was 'held to be of prime political and geographical importance as the authority for England's claim to priority of discovery of the north American continent and of the north-west passage to it'.[121] Like his father, Sebastiano had received a pension from Henry VII, but he was permitted to leave English service in 1512 and move to Spain. In 1521, when good relations between Henry VIII and Charles V allowed it, he returned to England and proposed another voyage, but despite the king and Wolsey's initial support nothing came of it. Sebastiano finally returned permanently to England in Edward VI's reign, and renewed his connections with the court, impressing the young king at one point with a demonstration of the variation of the magnetic needle.[122] He received a pension from Edward which was continued by Mary,[123] but his career was in many ways a missed opportunity for English royal patronage.

Musicians also sought preferment at the English court. Benedict de Opicius, the brother of Johannes de Opicius who had presented pastoral poems to Henry VII, was most

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[118] L. Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano, 1524-1528* (New Haven and London, 1970), pp. 13, 168.

[119] *Ibid*., p. 166.

[120] P. Barber, 'England I: Pageantry, Defense, and Government: Maps at Court to 1550', in D. Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Euorpe* (Chicago and London, 1992), p. 44.

[121] H. Wallis, 'The Royal Map Collections of England', *Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga*, 141 (1981), p. 464.

[122] Biddle, R., *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot* (London, 1832), pp. 177-8. It is also notable that the Florentine merchant Bartolommeo Compagni, who was based in London, acted as a go-between for the transmission of Cabot's discoveries to Livio Sanuto in Venice.

[123] *Foedera*, H.V.iv.89; H.VI.iii.170; H.VI.iv.40.

Fig. 44: Choirbook, 1516, BL, MS Royal 11.E.xi, f. 2.

likely the 'straunger that cam from by yonde the see to se the kinges grace & gave to hym a goodly Instrument', for which he received £13 6s 8d in reward on 28 September 1511.[124] The identification of Benedict with this gift is due to the fact that two weeks later he was the bearer of a letter of recommendation for his merchant father, Peter, from Henry VIII to Margaret of Austria.[125] It was this royal support that presumably helped him to secure a post in Antwerp: 'Meester Benedictus' is listed as organist of the Lady Chapel in Antwerp Cathedral.[126] Benedict returned to England to serve Henry VIII in 1516, a warrant of 1 July appointed him 'to waite opon the king in his chamber' from the previous 1 March. This too could have been marked with a gift: a surviving choirbook in early sixteenth-century Flemish style includes some of Benedict's compositions and overt Tudor iconography in the illustrations (Fig. 44). A note on the flyleaf in an early sixteenth-century hand states 'Me fieri ac componi fecit [PO] 1516'.[127] Benedict's father Peter de Opicius is the most likely candidate for PO, and the date is supported by the fact that the content has been viewed as illustrative of Henry VIII's reunion with his sisters Mary and Margaret in 1516.[128]

That same year the Venetian ambassador Sebastiano Giustinian reported on the arrival of Dionisio Memo, the organist of St. Mark's, who 'brought a most excellent instrument with him at great expense'.[129] He was first presented to Cardinal Wolsey and then afterwards visited the king, where 'he played to the incredible admiration of everybody, especially of the King who is well skilled in music'.[130] It seems that he then presented the instrument, presumably a form of organ, to Henry VIII because a payment of £40 on 19 October 1516 is recorded 'to a ffreer that gave the king an Instrumente'.[131] The favour that he found was reflected both in a musical appointment - he was made head of the king's instrumental musicians - and in the fact that Henry stated a desire to make him a royal chaplain, which Giustinian noted as 'an honourable appointment and very

[124] *RECM*, VII, p. 198.

[125] Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court*, p. 92.

[126] *BDECM*.

[127] BL, MS Royal 11 E.xi.

[128] Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court*, pp. 140-147.

[129] *CSPV*, II.780.

[130] *Ibid*., II.780.

[131] BL, MS Add. 21481, f. 237.

profitable'.[132] However, unsolicited arrival at the English court was not without its risks. The diarist Sanuto reported in 1525 that a Venetian organist Zuan da Leze, the illegitimate son of the Lord Lieutenant of Cyprus, had travelled to England 'at a cost exceeding 100 ducats, believing that the King, who delights in music, would give him a salary, as he did to the Crutched friar of Ca Memo, for whom he provided largely'.[133] However, after playing to Henry on the 'most perfect instrument' that he had had made and had brought specially to England, the king only made him a token present; in despair the musician tried to stab himself at the table and later hung himself with his dagger-girdle.[134] It is possible that da Leze's instrument is that made by John de Bologna, which survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 45).[135]

Fig. 45: Jerome of Bologna, Harpsichord, 1521, V&A 226:1 to 3-1879.

[132] *CSPV*, II.780.

[133] *CSPV*, III.1189; *Sanuto*, XL, cols. 533-4: 'era perfetto musico, *maxime* di clavicembano, et fatto far uno instrument perfettissimo, andò per terra in Anglia con ditto instrument con spesa più de ducati 100, crdendo quell Re, che ha piacer di soni, li desse provision, come fece al frate da ca' Memo di Crosaehieri al ual li dete gran provision, poi lui partì per dubito di la vita, si dice è in Portogallo. Hor zonto in Anglia, sonò davanti il Re, et par il Re non li piacese molto, le fe donar 20 nobili ... *unde* lui da disperato, essendo a tavola con alcuni altri si dete de ... nel petto per amazarse, fo tenuto e manegato e posto in letto, poì la note lui medemo se apicò con la centura di la sua cortella'.

[134] *Sanuto*, XL, col. 534.

[135] Many thanks to Benjamin Hebbert for making this suggestion, which arises partly from the fact that the Victoria and Albert museum's collection was one of the first instrument collections to be put together and there is anecdotal evidence that many pieces had been in England for many years.

The gift presentations that have been discussed up until this point have been mostly singular events, arising from the arrival at the English court of an individual seeking some form of patronage or in response to specific circumstances. However, the gift rolls that recorded the ritualised exchanges at New Year provide supporting evidence for the presence of various Italians who remained for a time at the English court and maintained a longer relationship with the monarch, which was punctuated by gifts. For example Pietro Vanni is listed in 1532 as 'secretary', and he gave two cushions 'very fyne with needyll work'.[136] His name is included in the list for 1534, as a chaplain, but there is no gift or reciprocal gift listed, possibly suggesting a temporary absence from court. He also appears in the lists for 1539, 1557, 1562 and 1563 as a chaplain and Dean of Salisbury, when he generally gave money in a purse.[137] Some individuals do not appear with such regularity but it is likely that they were represented on the gift rolls that have not survived, men such as 'Augustyne phesicion', the Venetian Agostino Agostini, who gave 'a tablet of golde with pomeander yerin' in 1539.[138] Or the Italian 'Dauncer' who gave the princess Mary a partlet of gold in 1534, who was most likely the 'Jasper Gaffoyne' listed in various warrants.[139] There were also the Italian artisans Antonio del Nunziato, known as Toto, Vincenzo Volpe and 'Baptist Dyer'. Many gave items that were likely to have been of their own manufacture. In 1534, 1539, 1540 and 1552 Toto gave paintings including a portrait of a duke that was 'steyned upon cloth of silver',[140] in 1532 Volpe gave painted 'targettes', whilst Baptist Dyer presented 'a coverpane of diaper' and 'a piece of kersey scarlet collour' in 1534 and 1539.[141] The gift rolls provide evidence of the lengthy presence of some Italian artisans at court, such as the sculptor Niccolò Bellin of Modena who first arrived in England in 1537. In 1544

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[136] TNA, E101/420/15.

[137] Hayward, 'Gift Giving', p. 166; BL, Add MS 62525; BL, Harley Roll 18; TNA, C47/3/38.

[138] Hayward, 'Gift Giving', p. 167.

[139] F. Madden, *The Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, Afterwards Queen Mary: With a Memoir of the Princess and Notes* (London, 1831), p. 145; *BDECM*.

[140] J. Nichols, 'Notices of Some Contemporaries and Successors of Holbein', *Archaeologia*, 39 (1863), p. 36; TNA, E101/421/13. In 1534 Toto gave 'a goodly table of Saint Jerom'; Hayward, 'Gift giving', p. 167. In 1539 he gave 'a faire table painted'; Nichols, 'Notices of the Contemporaries', p. 35. In 1540 he gave 'a table of the story of King Alexander'.

[141] TNA, E101/421/13; Hayward, 'Gift giving, p. 167; TNA, E101/420/15. In 1534 'Vincent paynter' gave 'a penne and an inkhorn with two sandboxes of alabaster', TNA, E101/421/13.

he received a reward for bringing the king 'a story of Abraham',[142] in 1552 he gave Edward VI 'a feire picture paynted of the French king his hole personage' and in 1562 he gave Elizabeth 'the half picture of Patche king henry the eighte foole'.[143]

Inclusion in the New Year gift exchange suggests a level of intimacy with the monarch that was gained by occupying a position of service that necessitated direct personal contact, and as a result it is interesting to note the constant presence of Italian musicians on these lists. Musicians were often listed receiving money in reward at New Year. For example, the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber reveal payments at New Year 1530 to: 'the kings Trumpettes', 'the kings olde sagbuttes', 'the still mynstrelles', 'the kings dromslades', 'the six new sagbuttes', 'the Quenes mynstrelles', 'the kings vialls' and 'the gentilmen of the kings chappell for their payne taking this cristmas'.[144] Some of these were Italians. In the same account, out of only three individuals that were separately listed: 'master Giles, luter', 'Mr Crane' and 'Pelegrene sagbut', only the last was singled out because of a gift to the king. He gave 'twoo payre of perfumed gloves cov'ed wt velvet' and received 20 shillings.[145] This was Peregrine Simon, one of the five 'new sagbuttes' recruited in Venice at some point between 1521 and 1525. He received letters of denization 15 August 1530, and that same day was granted the manor of Fedington in Gloucestershire.[146] It seems that he received rewards beyond his wages as a musician at an earlier date than any of the other members of the group, suggesting that his gifts were successful in gaining the favour of the king. Gift exchange could also reflect this status as well as initiate it. The Venetian 'Anthony de bassoon' was amongst those singled out in the list of rewards given on New Year's day 1539 and received an extra 20s after giving 'a case of connys'; he had been appointed 'maker of instruments' to the king only a few months earlier.[147] It is notable that the gift roll for 1539 does not include reference to Antonio Bassano's gift, but does record that 'Marke Antony

[142] BL, MS Add. 59900, f. 72v**.** Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, p. 282. Campbell suggests that this may relate to Henry VIII's purchase of a set of tapestries and that Modena could have acted as some form of agent for the process, or brought them to England.

[143] Nichols, 'Notices of the Contemporaries', p. 37; BL, Harley Roll 18.

[144] *RECM*, VII, p. 260.

[145] *Ibid*., p. 260.

[146] *BDECM*.

[147] *RECM*, VII, pp. 272-3.

sagbut' gave the king 'A box with seret'.[148] This was Mark Anthony Petala, another of the sackbuts recruited from Venice. He had been the only musician named amongst a group of six receiving livery on 14 December 1533 and 26 November 1535, and was the only musician to receive a gift of gilt plate from the king at New Year 1534, which could indicate that he was considered the leader of the consort.[149] The discrepancy between the Treasury accounts and the gift rolls could suggest that the detailed exchanges recorded in the latter reflected a closer level of access to the monarch, such as access to the privy chamber. This is supported by the fact that the earliest surviving gift roll, from 1528, includes 'Peter Luter and his wief', who received four gilt spoons from the king, although the list does not include his gift to the king.[150] Although it is unusual for a name to be anglicised in this way it seems most likely that 'Peter Luter' was Giovanni Pietro de Bustis from Brescia who had received a life annuity of £40 a year from the Exchequer in 1513. This was the highest wage of any musician at the English court at that time, which suggests that he had a special role; Charles Brandon referred to him as a 'very favourite attendant of the King's'.[151] He was the musician who was sent to Ferrara as a messenger and who returned with the gift of a lute for Henry VIII from Alfonso d' Este in 1517. He seems to have looked to return to Italy after falling from favour following the arrival of another lutenist with Dionisius Memo.[152] Nonetheless, he did return, and in 1533 he was listed amongst Princess Mary's 'Gentlemen waiters', and 'Mrs Peter de Bruxia' was also among Mary's ladies and gentlewomen.[153]

From this point on Italian musicians maintained a constant presence in the gift rolls and their gifts illustrate which objects were considered suitable in order to maintain a relationship with the monarch rather than to establish one, and also the sheer length of this relationship. Many were members of the Bassano family, musicians and instrument

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[148] Hayward, 'Gift Giving', p. 168.

[149] *BDECM*; TNA, E101/421/13.

[150] TNA, E101/420/4.

[151] Ashbee, 'Groomed for Service', p. 189.

[152] Brown, *Four Years*, II, p. 75. The Venetian secretary in London reported to Alvise Foscari that 'since the coming of this lad, Zuan Piero is not in such favour as before, and complains, and is quite determined on returning into Italy'.

[153] *BDECM*.

makers recruited from Venice who settled in England and whose members served each of the Tudor monarchs from Henry VIII onwards. In 1539 Antonio, the first Bassano to become established in England after their first visit, gave a 'case of conies'.[154] This was just after he had been appointed instrument maker to the king, and it is possible that the rabbit skins were referencing his maker's mark of a rabbit's foot;[155] it is noticeable that the brothers also gave a 'case of Conys [...] yellow coloured' in 1552.[156] However, they also gave other items. In 1557 'John Basson' and his brothers gave Mary 'one fare Gytterne',[157] a musical instrument that was similar to a lute which Mary would have been able to play herself; the Venetian ambassador reported in 1554 that 'Her Majesty takes pleasure in playing on the lute and spinet, and is a very good performer on both instruments'.[158] Their first New Year's gifts to Elizabeth in 1559 were 'Two bottelles of musk-water, and oone Loking glass couered with Chrymsen Satten enbranderid' and again John Baptist appears to have been the leader; he received a silver-gilt salt in return whilst his brothers were given spoons.[159] They continued to give gifts throughout Elizabeth's reign; in 1568 Baptist gave her two pairs of gloves, in 1584 'the five brothers' gave a drinking glass with a cover and in 1588 Jeremy Bassano gave two drinking glasses.[160] Ten years later it was the turn of the next generation of the Bassano to serve Elizabeth: Jerolimo, Arthur, Edward and Andrew each gave a pair of perfumed gloves, as they would again in 1600 and 1603.[161] Many of these items were likely to have been of Italian manufacture, bought from the merchants who lived in the same area of London. The glass could well have come from Venice; another musician, Mark Antony Galiardello gave four 'Venyse glasses' in 1579.[162] Similarly glove making was

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[154] BL, MS Arundel 97, f. 53r.

[155] Lasocki, 'The Anglo-Venetian Bassano Family', p. 126. Lasocki also cautions that the rabbit's foot mark, which is commonly found on surviving woodwind instruments, has not been conclusively associated with the Bassano.

[156] *RECM*, VII, p. 118.

[157] BL, MS Add 62525.

[158] *CSPV*, V.934.

[159] Rev. F. Joy, 'Queen Elizabeth's New Year's Gifts' *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, IX (1884), pp. 241-2. Mirrors were a recognised Venetian commodity, see Florio, *Second Frutes*, p. 125. In Ulpiano's shop a 'looking glasse' is described as 'a faire, bright, cleane, and true glasse, and made at Venice'.

[160] London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 538; BL, MS Egerton 3052; BL, MS Add 8159.

[161] TNA, C47/3/40; Nichols, *Progresses* III, p. 457; TNA, C47/3/41.

[162] Nichols, *Progresses* II, p. 263.

often associated with Italians and a connection to court can be found in the return of strangers in London for 1571, which reveals that 'Anthonye Counte, one of the Quenes Majestyes musitians' was residing in the house of 'Frauncis Jyttowe, Italian, perfumer of gloves'.[163]

Mark Antony Galiardello served in England for forty-three years and his other gifts included: a partly gilt glass in a case of red leather in 1574, a gilt drinking glass in a gilt leather case in 1577, and a small glass of sweet water and a drinking glass with a cover in 1584.[164] He also gave the queen a musical instrument, a viol in 1578.[165] His son Caesar entered royal service after Mark Anthony's death in 1585 and gave the queen gloves at New Year.[166] Their names, and those of the other musicians, always appear at the very end of the gift rolls, listed amongst the Gentlemen. The number of individuals in this section of the list is relatively small, between twenty and forty, and thus the presence of a group of Italians is noticeable. Many of the other musicians' names that recur are members of the Lupo family: Ambrose, Peter, his son Thomas, Joseph and his son Thomas. In 1579 Peter is listed as 'Peter Wolfe' and gave five song books, suggesting that it could have been his first presentation, since after that he gave perfumed gloves and bottles of 'sweet water' and his name is recorded as Lupo.[167] Ambrose gave lute strings in 1578 and 1579, a gift that possibly implies a role in Elizabeth's musical instruction.[168] Ambrose may later have been replaced in this role by Innocent Comey, an 'Italian from Venise', who gave lute strings in 1588, 1589 and 1598.[169] Elizabeth had many more musicians in her service, but it is these individuals who were in a position to give her gifts, suggesting that they served her in a more personal way, possibly within the privy chamber.

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[163] *RECM*, VIII, p. 30.

[164] Nichols, *Progresses* I, p. 381; TNA, C47/3/39; BL, MS Egerton 3052. Florio, *Second Frutes*, p. 113. One of the characters in the dialogue describes 'sweete water' as 'verie far fetcht ... I use it to wash my eyes, and my face'.

[165] London, Society of Antiquaries MS 537.

[166] BL, MS Add. 8159; BL, Lansdowne Roll 17; TNA, C47/3/40; Nichols, *Progresses* III, p. 457; TNA, C47/3/41.

[167] Nichols, *Progresses* II, p. 263; BL, MS Egerton 3052; BL, MS Add. 8159; BL, Lansdowne Roll 17.

[168] London, Society of Antiquaries MS 537; Nichols, *Progresses* II, p. 263.

[169] BL, MS Add. 8159; BL, Lansdowne Roll 17; TNA, C47/3/40.

Musicians were not the only individuals to make regular appearances in the gift rolls; merchants also saw fit to present the monarch with gifts on this ceremonial occasion, and within this group there were also a significant number of Italians. However, it is notable that whilst the numbers of Italian musicians giving gifts appears to have increased during the sixteenth century, the number of merchants who had access to the monarch was at its highest under Henry VIII. They used gifts to create and maintain connections with the English monarchs: an approach that sociologists discuss in relation to trade in the sense that often 'the mercantile relationship must first be authorised by a gift relationship' in order to establish a level of trust.[170] These individuals had access to the monarch because many of their import licenses specified that their wares were first to be shown to the king.[171] The objects that were presented ranged from textiles to jewels and foodstuffs, luxury items that reflected both Italian imports and knowledge of the monarch's taste, echoing Machiavelli's words in the dedication to *Il Principe* that 'men who are anxious to win the favour of a Prince nearly always follow the custom of presenting themselves to him with the possessions they value most, or with things they know especially please him'.[172] Thus some gave examples of their own merchandise that would have been known to find favour because they were bought on regular occasions by the Great Wardrobe, for example, the hats given by the milliners Christopher Carcano and Baptist 'Borrem', possibly Borromeo, in 1534 and 1539.[173] Similarly Giorgio Ardisono gave a piece of 'fyne Camrike' in 1532 and 1534.[174] Other gifts were more individual. Giovanni Cavalcanti gave Henry VIII a gilt chest with forty-four alabaster pots and a box full of fine thread, and two years later a gold brooch with a cameo. His receipt of over twenty ounces of gilt plate on each occasion was the highest received by any of the Italian merchants, indicative of his elevated status. On rare occasions these gifts retained their association with the donor long after the moment of presentation. The 1547 inventory lists a 'Glasse with a cover of silver and gilt with a rounde knoppe the glasse white enamelled in twelve railles or strickes given by John

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[170] J.T. Godbout, *The World of the Gift* (1998) trans. D. Winkler, **(**Montreal**,** 1990), p. 150.

[171] *L&P* III.ii.2214.

[172] Hayward, 'Gift Giving', p. 125; N. Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, M. Martelli, ed. (Rome, 2006), pp. 55-6: 'Sogliono el piú delle volte coloro che desiderano acquistare grazia appresso a uno principe, farseli incontro con quelle cose che in fra le loro abbino piú care o delle quali vegghino lui delettarsi'.

[173] TNA, E101/421/13; M. Hayward, 'Gift Giving', pp. 167, 168.

[174] TNA, E101/420/15; TNA, E101/421/13.

Calvalcante on Newe yeares day anno xxij^{mo}'.[175] On occasion the king reciprocated with more than plate. Anthony Carsidoni, the factor for Cavalcanti and Bardi, gave treacle and parmesan cheese,[176] a diamond ring, and a golden brooch,[177] and in 1540 he was granted the prebend of Netherbury,[178] and was described as 'the King's servant' in a grant in fee of tenements.[179]

It is difficult to build a consistent image from these gifts because so few gift rolls survive, but it is evident that in contrast to the number of musicians at the English court, the number of Italian merchants with close access to the monarch decreased. Bartolommeo Compagni's will makes reference to four gilt cups, received from Henry VIII, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, which may well have been presented during gift exchanges at New Year.[180] The accounts of Edward VI's Treasurer of the Chamber, William Cavendish, reveal that at one point Guido Cavalcanti, 'merchaunt straungier', was rewarded for giving the king a piece of velvet.[181] In 1557 Giacomo Ragazzoni gave Mary 'a fair chair of ebonett, covered with crimson vellatt, and finged with silk and gold, a carpet of Turquey making, a basket of silver, with ten cases of silver, and needles in them'.[182] The generosity of this gift, or perhaps the status of the donor as a conduit of information to the papacy, meant that he received in return the crystal cup, weighing thirty-five ounces and garnished with silver, that had been given by the Duke of Norfolk earlier in the day.[183] At Elizabeth's court it was only the two prominent Genoese merchants, Benedetto Spinola and Horatio Palavicino, who appeared on the gift rolls. The former made repeated presentations, including a whole piece of purple

[175] *1547 Inventory*, no. 1257.

[176] Sicca, C., 'Fashioning the Tudor Court' in M. Hayward and E. Kramer, eds., *Textiles and Text: Re-establishing the Links Between Archival and Object-based Research* (London, 2007), p. 102, n. 83. The parmesan cheeses were provided by the Venetian merchant Gerolamo Molini.

[177] TNA, E101/420/15; TNA, E101/421/13; Hayward, 'Gift-Giving', p. 167.

[178] Rymer, *Foedera*, VI.iii.60.

[179] *L&P*, XIX.i.812 (99).

[180] S. Foister, 'Holbein, Antonio Toto, and the Market for Italian Painting in Early Tudor England', in C. Sicca and L. Waldman eds., *Henrici Medici: Artistic Links Between the Early Tudor Courts and Medicean Florence* (Forthcoming), p. 297.

[181] Nichols, *The Literary Remains*, p. cccxvi.

[182] BL, MS Add. 62525.

[183] BL, MS Add. 62525.

velvet in 1562, a petticoat of crimson satin embroidered with Venice gold and set with stones in 1567, and two pillows and a cushion cloth wrought with Venice gold and silk 'turkemaking' in 1568.[184] For the gifts already described he received between 24 and 26 ounces of silver gilt, but in 1577 and 1578, when on each occasion he gave a petticoat, he received 81oz and 80oz respectively.[185] To put this into context in 1578 the Lord Treasurer, William Cecil received 40oz and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester received 100oz. Spinola had already received the grant of the parsonage of St. Katherine's Christchurch in January 1575, and thus the gift exchange suggests that he was possibly acting for Elizabeth in some specific role, or was held in particularly high regard.[186] Palavicino's name is listed on the gift rolls amongst the knights. He had been granted letters of denization in 1585 and was knighted by the queen two years later.[187] In 1589 he gave Elizabeth 'one bodkin of silver gilte, havinge a pendaunt jewell of gold, like a ship, garnished with apaulls, sparks of diamonds, and three small pearles pendaunt'.[188] In 1594 he gave the queen a pair of writing tables set with gold, rubies and diamonds 'enameled on both sides like a rose',[189] and whilst none of these can be definitively ascribed an Italian origin they testify to a route by which items could reach the queen.

The individuals discussed here are only some of the Italians who came to England seeking Tudor patronage - those who chose to use certain items of material culture to present themselves to the monarch. The foreign origins of these gifts often elevated their status, following the Senecan precept: 'how much more welcome the gift will be if we give something that a man does not have, rather than something with which he is abundantly supplied'.[190] From the many fragments of these individual gifts it is possible to form some more general impressions. For example, the literary gifts reflected the shift that took place during the sixteenth century as reading 'changed from a public to a private activity', and thus the works that were presented came to be valued for their

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[184] BL, Harley Roll 18; BL, MS Add. 9772; London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 538.

[185] TNA, C47/3/39; London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 537.

[186] Rymer, *Foedera*, VI.iv.160.

[187] I. Archer, 'Palavicino, Sir Horatio', *ODNB*, p. 440.

[188] BL, Lansdowne Roll 17.

[189] J. Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, 4 vols. (London, 1828), p. 102.

[190] Seneca, *Moral Essays*, III: *De Beneficiis*, p. 41.

contents - practical, theological or linguistic - rather than their overt material value, and thus were given as dedications rather than lavishly illuminated manuscripts.[191] Furthermore, even though the objects that were brought were not always wholly Italian - for example, many of the manuscripts included Flemish decoration - the gifts tended to demonstrate skills that came to be associated with Italy: humanist Latin, musical instrument and glass manufacture, and textile production. The movement of individuals to England in search of patronage was also related to the diplomatic context, and thus it is unsurprising that the majority came to try and serve Henry VIII for this was the moment at which the conflicts of the Italian peninsula were at their most volatile. However, there were certain exceptions: religious reformers, and perhaps more surprisingly, musicians. Many of these sought sanctuary in England, and thus Edward VI and Elizabeth were looked to by Italian individuals at a time when England was less actively involved in the affairs of the Italian peninsula. Intriguingly few appear to have come to Mary's court seeking to initiate a relationship with a new patron, although some artisans, musicians, and merchants remained. This could indicate that the influence of Spain in England was not only felt to manifest itself in diplomatic relations but also meant that Mary was not considered a desirable patron. This is perhaps due to the fact that it was during this period that reports of England's financial difficulties began to spread to Italy. On his return to Venice the ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo, asked to be reimbursed for the great expenses that he had incurred during his embassy to England, which had lasted for 41 months during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, due to the 'the scarcity of everything having been constant and excessive'.[192] Furthermore, in contrast to the accounts of Henry VII's wealth and his son's liberality,[193] ambassadors now noted the effects of Henry VIII's and Edward VI's debasement of the coin and that Mary's revenue did not equal her expenses.[194] Thus England became a less desirable place to try to forge a career, even without the rupture with Rome and the reduction in close diplomatic ties between England and the Italian peninsula.

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[191] Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII*, p. 8.

[192] *CSPV*, V.933.

[193] *Sanuto*, VIII, col. 183. Notes the death of Henry VII 'homo miserissimo, ma di gran inzegno; et à cumulate tanto oro, che si tien habi più oro lui cha quasi li altri re christiani. Questo re suo fiol è liberale et bello, et è amico di nostri e nimico di Franza'.

[194] *CSPV*, V.934.

Chapter 4

Buying Italian

Italians did not only bring objects to the English court to present as gifts, they also brought things to sell. This engagement with Italy through consumption demonstrates an alternate means by which the English understood Italy. The goods that were purchased offer insight into the more generalised skills and products that the English associated with Italy, as opposed to the individual relationships that developed through gifts. In conforming to the Aristotelian ideal of magnificence, which proscribed a level of expenditure that lay as a mean between the vices of prodigality and avarice,[1] royal expenditure on luxuries remained at a high level throughout the Tudor period. Within this context it is possible to explore the nature of the items of Italian manufacture that were deliberately acquired in order to convey the magnificence of the English monarch. Furthermore, the differentiation by the English between types of object by virtue of their place of origin, such as the recording of 'Venice gold',[2] 'Lukes vellet'[3] and 'Million buttons'[4] in inventories and warrants, also raises questions about the level of discernment at the English court between Italian products, and the extent to which they were rendered desirable by their place of production.

It has been suggested that 'people buy intentionally as a result of a deliberate decision informed by the values of their culture ... people fill up their environment to give order to their world and endow it with a meaning that justifies their very existence'.[5] Thus, the objects that surrounded the Tudor monarchs can provide insight into the 'order' of their world. However, it must be stressed that since most items were purchased by

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[1] Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, p. 60.

[2] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, p. 220; BL, MS Egerton 2806, f. 99. A warrant from April 1576 lists quantities of items supplied by Alice Montague, the Queen's Silkwoman which includes 'x oz of lase of venice golde and silver'.

[3] *The 1547 Inventory*, no. 16308: 'Item one Remnaunt of white lukes vellet contaynynge iii yardes iii quarter di'.

[4] A. Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', *Costume*, 18 (1984), p. 27. A warrant for the Wardrobe of the Robes dated 16 October 1554 includes payment for 'foure dossen of (million) buttons'.

[5] R.A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600* (Baltimore and London, 1993), p. 4.

departments of the Royal Household, such as the Great Wardrobe, it is very difficult to uncover the primary concerns of the monarchs themselves and the extent to which they were involved in the choice to buy Italian products.[6] For example, four individuals selected cloth for Henry VIII's great wardrobe: the keeper, the king's tailor, the yeoman of the robes and the king himself,[7] and thus it is difficult to gauge if Henry was deliberately choosing Italian fabrics. However, occasional pieces of information offer a means of at least approaching this issue. For example, the specifications in import licenses that 'the King have the first sight and choice of the goods' suggest a level of personal involvement,[8] and the reports of the Venetian ambassadors occasionally allude to the fact that the king had specifically ordered an item.[9] There are also occasions on which the monarch sent individuals to Italy in order to make particular purchases.[10]

In analysing these objects and their acquisition it is not necessary to adopt the notion that the modalities of gift exchange and commodity exchange are fundamentally opposed, because in the sixteenth century the conceptual separation of material transactions and social relationships did not exist.[11] This is evident in the way in which merchants were both used as diplomatic agents and maintained their personal relationships with the Tudor monarchs through gifts. It is perhaps more useful to approach commodities as 'things in a certain situation'.[12] For example, the Italian textiles owned by the Tudor monarchs could arrive as gifts - at the Field of the Cloth of

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[6] For an analysis of the importance of subjective motivations to the study of consumption see C. Campbell, 'Understanding Traditional and Modern Patterns of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century England: A Character-Action Approach', in J. Brewer and R. Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 40-57.

[7] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 33.

[8] *L&P*, XIII.i.190. From a license granted to John Baptist Borron in 1538; *Foedera*,VI.iii.141. The provision that the king should have first sight of the goods can also be found in the license granted to Guido and Estriota Cavalcanti to import jewels, furs, silks and other items in 1546.

[9] *CSPV*, III.503. A motion in the Venetian Senate was passed to allow pieces of cloth of gold and silk 'which the King has had wrought in Florence for his own use' to pass through Venetian territories without paying duty.

[10] *CSPV*, II.63. A letter from the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Badoer, states that 'the King was about to send 3 of his gentlemen into Italy, to purchase horse armour, and other military accoutrements'.

[11] J. Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700* (London and New York, 1995), p. 65.

[12] Appadurai, 'Introduction', pp. 11, 13.

Gold Francis I gave Henry a number of items made from cloth of tissue[13] - but they could also be bought in large quantities from merchants or be commissioned and made to a specific design. The importance of such royal demand for Italian items, as opposed to acquiring things as gifts, is that elite tastes could have a 'turnstile' function in which the selection of a style from various external possibilities could then provided a model for internal tastes and production.[14] The influence of elites on the widespread desire for Italian goods in England can be most clearly seen in the fact that it was felt necessary to place restrictions on the wearing of luxury textiles. Sumptuary laws were not a new phenomenon but during the sixteenth century it was feared that the growing consumption of imported textiles would lead to the ruin of many young nobles through immoderate expenditure on foreign products, and that this could also upset the balance of trade.[15]

By the late fifteenth century Italian products had long been available to purchase in England. European demand for the wool and woollen cloth of England meant that these English products provided much of the return cargo for Italian merchants trading in silks, spices and other luxury goods. Their involvement in this trade often necessitated contact with the monarch, because in order to operate outside the control of the Wool Staple they needed to be granted a royal license to export wool through the 'straights of Marrok'.[16] The Italian merchants also sold raw materials including Tolfa alum, wine,

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[13] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 415: B67, B68, B70, B71.

[14] Appadurai, 'Introduction', p. 31.

[15] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, II, p. 381. A royal proclamation of 1574 to enforce statutes of apparel stated that: 'The excess of apparel and the superfluity of unnecessary foreign wares ... is grown by sufferance to such an extremity that the manifest decay not only of a great part of the wealth of the realm generally is like to follow (by bringing into the realm such superfluities of silks, cloths of gold, silver, and other most vain devices of so great cost for the quantity thereof as of necessity the moneys and treasure of the realm is and must be yearly conveyed out of the same to answer the said excess) but also particularly the wasting and undoing of a great number of young gentlemen, ... who, allured by the vain show of those things, do not only consume themselves, their goods, and lands which their parents have left unto them, but also run into such debts and shifts as they cannot live out of danger of laws without attempting of unlawful acts'.

[16] Campbell, *Materials*, I, p. 431 and II, pp. 416, 449. For example, licenses were granted to 'John Ambrosious de Nigrono', merchant of Genoa, 'John de Salvo' and 'Benedict Spinola' in 1486 and to 'Philip del Vigna', merchant of Florence, 'John de Salvo' and 'Ambrose Salvaigus', merchants of Genoa in 1489 to export wool via the straits of Morocco.

currants, pearls and precious gems, and were able to act as middlemen for the English trade in goods from northern Europe, facilitating the purchase of armour,[17] artillery,[18] and tapestry.[19] In addition they provided a link to the East, bringing spices and silks to England. Such was the Venetian dominance of this role that by the time they reached England the origins of some products could become blurred - the 1582 rate book includes a listing for 'carpets called Venice or Turkie carpets'.[20] The focus here is on the import of items of Italian manufacture. Such items could reach England by sea, carried in the galleys of Florence and Venice and the carracks of Genoa to the ports of Southampton and London, or, they could pass through the trading centres of Northern Europe, such as Bruges, Hamburg and Antwerp, which were connected by the overland routes to the cities of the Italian peninsula. The fragmentary nature of the documentary record makes it very difficult to conduct quantitative research into the level of Italian imports over the course of the sixteenth century. However, the types of items that were imported for the general English market during the sixteenth century by these routes can be discussed using the Books of Rates. These recorded the level of import duty to be paid. The rates of 1507 are recorded in a roll from 1532, which uses the official valuations of the earlier date.[21] Books of Rates also survive from 1550,[22] which repeats the valuation of 1545, and from 1562,[23] and 1582; the rates in the latter two were based on the review that was conducted in 1558,[24] which remained in force until the reign of James I. Table 1 shows the goods that were explicitly labelled as of Italian origin.

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[17] *L&P,* I.i.1463. Payments for war include 'To Leonard Friscobald for 577 pairs of harness called Almayn ryvetts'.

[18] *L&P,* I.i.1394. In September 1512 a letter to Henry VIII refers to the fact that 'John Cavalcanti has had 13 great guns cast in Almayn'.

[19] *L&P,* III.ii, p. 1539. In April 1520 The King's Book of Payments includes 'To John Cavalcaunte, for tapestry with the story of David 410l 5s 9d'.

[20] T.S. Willan, *A Tudor Book of Rates* (Manchester, 1962), p. 15.

[21] BL, Add. Roll 16577; N. Gras, *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge MA, 1918), Appendix C.

[22] J. Edwards and J.L. Nevinson, 'The Rates of the London Custom House in 1550', *Costume*, 4 (1970), pp. 3-12.

[23] Willan, *A Tudor Book of Rates*, p. xxxii.

[24] *Ibid*., p. xxvi.

Table 1 – Italian imports in the Books of Rates for 1507, 1550 and 1582

1507		**1550**		**1582**	
Fustyon' called fustyon[n]aples the pece	No valuation	Bollayne sarcenet the pece	xls	Carpets called Turkie or Venice carpets the peece	xs
Golld of Venys the lb	xls	Fustian anaples the pece	xs	Drinking glasses of Venice making the dosen	iiijs
Gowlde of Lucke the lb	No valuation	Millin gloves or canary the groce	xxvis viiid	Florence wullen cloth the yarde	vs
Sarsenett called of Florence the peece	iiil	Sarsnet of florance making the pece	xls	Fustian of Naples the peace containing xv yards	xxxs
Sarssenett of Bullen' the pece	xls	Venis rybbonde the li	xiiis iiiid	Fustian called Jean (Genoa) Fustian the whole peace containing xxx yards	xiijs iiijd
		Venis silver the pound	xls	Fustian called Millan Fustian the whole peece	Xxs
		Venis golde the pound	xls	Gloves of Canaria, Millon or Venice unwrought the dosen	Viiis
				Gloves of Canaria, Millon and Venie wrought with silk or Silver the dosen	xxs
				Hats called Spanish or Venice the dosen	Xls
				Houre glasses of Venice making the dosen	Xxs
				Lutes with cases called Venice lutes the dosen	Xijl
				Rose water or other sweet water in Glasses of Venice making or other sweet Oyles in like glasses the dosen	vis viijd
				Sarcenet calle Bolona sarcenet the elle	iijs iiid
				Sarcenet of Florence making the elle	iiis iiid
				Sope called Venice or Castle (Castille) sope the c containing v xx xij li	Xvs
				Treacle of Jean the pound	Viijd
				Venice gold or silver the pound containing xii unces	liijs iiijd
				Venice Pursses of lether the dozen	Xiis
				Venice pursses of leather imbrodered the dozen	Xxs
				Venice Pursses of silk imbrodered or knit the dosen	Xls
				Venice Riband the dosen peeces	xxvjs viijd
				Venice Turpentine the pound	xxd

However, this is only a partial sample because many of the imports were not labelled by place of origin, so it is probable that there were other Italian items. Nor do the Books of Rates account for the items that were imported under royal licence, which often bypassed customs.

Nonetheless, the Books of Rates illustrate the prominence and status of Venetian imports amongst the Italian items that were available on the general English market. These products - glass, musical instruments and silk items - were not imported because they were the only examples that were available, they faced competition with French, German and Flemish products, but because there were purchasers in England who discriminated between items. This is particularly clear in the case of glass imports. As early as 1399 Richard II conceded the right to Venetians to sell various glass items from their galleys without paying customs.[25] The Venetian dominance of the market was partly due to their mastery of the manufacture of virtually clear glass, *cristallo*, a product which was already known in the thirteenth century but which was produced in far greater volume from the mid-fifteenth century onwards;[26] in 1481 the first consignment of 'cristalyn' basins, cups and goblets was recorded in Southampton.[27] The Venetians promoted this product; for example, when Henry VIII and the court visited the Venetian galleys at Southampton in 1518, the glass vessels that had been full of wine were distributed amongst the company.[28] Fragments of *cristallo* glassware excavated from the moat at Acton Court, near Bristol, reveal some of the forms of the items that were in circulation at the Tudor court, such as the drinking cup composed of *vetro a retorti*, colourless glass with inlaid and twisted canes of white *lattimo* glass (Fig. 46). The glass items at Acton Court were specifically purchased by Nicholas Poyntz as part of the expenditure on the fabric and contents of his house before a visit from Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in 1535.[29] It is not clear in either the 1542 or the 1547 inventory exactly how much Venetian glass Henry VIII owned but the Whitehall inventory

[25]ASV, Commemoriali, Libro IX, c. 96v; A. Gasparetto, *Le relazione fra Venezia e l'Inghilterra nei secoli XVI e XVII e la loro influenza sulle forme vetrarie inglesi* (London, 1968), p. 16.

[26] R. Charleston, *English Glass and the Glass Used in England, circa 400-1940* (London, 1984), p. 43.

[27] Ruddock, *Italian Merchants*, p. 80.

[28] Brown, *Four Years*, II, pp. 192-3.

[29] R. Bell, 'The Royal Visit to Acton Court in 1535' in D. Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (London, 1991), pp. 120-123.

Fig. 46: Venice, Foot and stem of *vetro a retorti* glass excavated at Acton Court, *c*. 1535, Bristol City Museum, Bristol.

Fig. 47: Venice, Jug, *calcedonio* glass, 1500-25, Victoria and Albert Museum, 5575-1859.

includes pieces of 'white glass' which suggests that they were *lattimo* items, and also pieces of 'diaper work', which could describe the pattern formed by the canes in *vetro a retorti*.[30] A number are also described as 'paynted', which were likely enamelled, and there were various pieces of 'jasper colour', probably the brown semi-opaque marbled glass *calcedonio* which resembled calcedony or agate.[31] An example of this type of glass can be seen in Fig. 47**,** although this piece is not associated with Henry VIII.[32] Venetian glass clearly retained its elevated status throughout the sixteenth century; it was not listed in the 1550 Book of Rates but in 1582 'Drinking glasses of Venice making the dosen' were valued at four shillings, whilst 'Drinking glasses of the French making the dosen' came in at eight pence.[33] Similarly, 'Houre glasses of Venice making' were valued at twenty shillings the dozen when 'Houre glasses of flaunders making the dosen of the finest sorte' were six shillings and eight pence.[34] The inclusion of these items in the Book of Rates from 1558 would suggest that they had become more widely available on the English market. Harrison, in his *Description of England*, which was prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, described how:

> It is a world to see in these our daies, wherin gold and silver most aboundeth, how that our gentilitie, as lothing those mettals (bicause of the plentie) do now generallie choose rather the Venice glasses, both for our wine and beere, than anie of those mettals or stone wherein before time we have beene accustomed to drinke; but such is the nature of man generallie, that it most coveteth things difficult to be attained; & such is the estimation of this stuffe, that manie become rich onlie with their new trade unto Murana (a towne neere to Venice situat on the Adriatike sea), from whence the verie best are dailie to be had ... And as this is seene in the gentilitie, so in the wealthie communaltie the like desire of glasse is not neglected.[35]

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[30] *1542 Inventory of Whitehall*, II, nos. 1071, 1077, 1095, 1106, 4003 and 1066, 1071, 1076, 1122.

[31] *Ibid*., nos. 1062, 1070, 1078, 1084, 1098, 1108, 1109, 4007.

[32] Charleston, *English Glass*, pp. 46-7.

[33] Willan, *A Tudor Book of Rates*, p. 23.

[34] *Ibid*., p. 34.

[35] Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 50; R. Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, 6 vols. (London, 1807), I, pp. 230-1.

Even though they became more widely available in England, glass items were still of sufficient status to be presented to the queen. It was most likely, and in some cases explicitly, Venetian glass that was presented to Elizabeth by many of her Italian musicians at New Year.[36] The bottles of 'sweet water' that were a popular gift[37] were also probably imported from Venice; they are listed in the Books of Rates as 'Rose water or other sweet water in Glasses of Venice making or other sweet oyles in like glasses the dosen', valued at six shillings and eight pence.[38]

Venetian lutes were similar to Venetian glass items in being the most expensive examples of a type of object. 'Lutes with cases called Cullen (Cologne) lutes the dosen' were valued at three pounds in the 1582 Rate Book, in comparison to 'Lutes with cases called Venice lutes the dosen' at twelve pounds.[39] This level of differentiation, and the desire for the more expensive product on the English market, is possibly indicative of the influence of the Venetian musicians at court, for it is they who would most likely have introduced the conscious choice between types of lute. Many of the musicians had brought instruments with them when they came to England, and some also sold them. For example, Mark Anthony Galliardello was paid 100 crowns for 'a case of violles' by warrant of 22 November 1550 and Francisco de Venice was paid £15 for 'a set of vyalls by him sold to us'.[40] The 1547 inventory lists only one 'Venice lute' amongst Henry VIII's collection of instruments,[41] but it seems that they became more widely available in the second half of the sixteenth century. They could arrive direct from Italy or through the entrepôt of Antwerp; the port book of London from 1567/8 notes that William Cooper imported six Venice lutes on the *Santa Maria de Gracia* out of Venice, whilst John White and John Brooke imported six each on the *Falcon of Antwerp* and the

[36] *RECM*, VI, p. 38. Mark Anthony Galiardello gave four 'venyse glasses' to Elizabeth at New Year 1579.

[37] TNA, C47/3/41. Peter Lupo gave six bottles of sweet water, or rose water, to Elizabeth at New Year 1598, 1600 and 1603.

[38] Willan, *A Tudor Book of Rates*, p. 50.

[39] *Ibid*., p. 39.

[40] *BDECM*.

[41] *1547 Inventory*, no. 11949: 'Item a litle venice lute with a case to the same'.

Christofer of Antwerp respectively.[42] John Baptist Bassano's gift to Elizabeth at New Year 1565 of a 'vennise Lute' could, therefore, have been purchased in England.[43]

The most common items amongst the Venetian imports were 'Venice gold' and 'Venice silver'. These were metal *filé* threads, made by wrapping finely spun metal around a silk core. This type of thread was made in Cologne and Cyprus, and also imported from Florence and Genoa,[44] but Venice supplied by far the greater part. It was given an import rate in each of the surviving Books of Rates and was valued at forty shillings the pound in 1507.[45] The inventories of the royal wardrobes attest to its near universal use in embroidery throughout the Tudor period.[46] So ubiquitous was the term that even though its inclusion in the 1582 Book of Rates suggests that it was still being imported towards the end of the sixteenth century it is possible that by this point it was being used in England as the general term for metal embroidery thread. Descriptions of clothing and furnishing also refer to 'passamayne' of Venice gold, a form of braid,[47] and the metal thread could also be used on buttons and to make up tassels.[48] However, it is not clear whether these items were imported directly, or whether they were made up in England using 'Venice gold' as a raw material like plain silk. This doubt arises because

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[42] Dietz, 'The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London', nos. 53, 402 and 409.

[43] *RECM*, VI, p. 14.

[44] *SR*, II, 4 Henry VII c. 22.

[45] Gras, *The Early English Customs System*, p. 698.

[46] Campbell, *Materials for a History*, II, p. 17. Amongst the list of provisions prepared for Henry VII's coronation was a payment to 'John Smythe, brawderer, for embrawdering of a trappour of blue veluette with rede roses with gold of Venys'; *The 1547 Inventory*, no. 14310: 'Item A spanishe Cape of crimesen vellut raized with Threedes of venice golde with twoo passemaines of venice golde and Silver lined with crimesen Satten'; Nichols, *Literary Remains*, I, p. ccciii. On the day before his coronation, travelling from the Tower to Westminster, Edward wore 'a gyrkyn of white velvet, wrought with Venyse sylver'; Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, p. 78: 'Item payed for Venes golde for my lades grace'; Nichols, *Progresses*, I, p. 294. Leicester gave Elizabeth a jewell at New Year 1572 'in a case of purple vellate all over embrauderid with Venice gold'.

[47] *1542 Inventory*, no. 645: 'Item oone Coverpane of fine diaper of Adam and Eve being garnisshid rounde aboute with a narrowe pasamayne of venice golde and Silver'; London, Society of Antiquaries MS 538. Ambrose, a musician, gave 'A standish like a cushionett covered all over with greene vellat layed with a brode passamayne of venice gold and silver' to Elizabeth at New Year 1568.

[48] *1542 Inventory*, nos. 295, 557: 'Buttons Venice gold'; nos. 1224, 1225: 'Ropes with tassels for hanging candlesticks of Venice gold and Venice silver'.

Fig. 48: Italian, Marten's Head, gold with enamel, rubies, garnets and pearls, *c*. 1550-9, The Walters Art Museum, 57.1982.

Fig. 49: Hans Holbein, *Edward VI*, oil on panel, probably 1538, Andrew W. Mellon Collection, National Gallery Of Art, Washington D.C., 1937.1.64.

measures were in place to protect English silk workers; a statute of Henry VII drew a clear line between the silks 'as well wrought as rawe, or unwrought' that could be sold 'at hys pleasour' by both denizens and strangers, and the silk that was wrought in 'Ribandes Laces Gyrdilles Corses Calles Corses of tissues or poyntes wrought beyond the See' which was forbidden to be brought into England for sale.[49] Nonetheless, the 1582 Book of Rates does suggest that some wrought silk was imported because prices are given for 'Venice purses of silk imbrodered or knit' and 'Venice riband', and, as was true of all imports, royal licenses could provide a means of circumventing any restrictions.

Further small Italian imports were worked silk goods such as gloves and hats, and the decorative metal elements of clothing such as aglets and buttons, all of which were the speciality of Milan, as well as being imported from Venice. Vendors of these products came to be grouped together under the term 'Milliner'. Whilst this was originally because most of the merchants were Milanese, such as Christopher Carcano who sold to Henry VIII, in the second half of the sixteenth century it came to be applied to anyone working with these kind of wares; for example, Elizabeth referred to her capper Richard Hammond as 'our Myllener'.[50] The import license granted to John Baptist Borrone in 1538 reveals some of the items that milliners could sell, including 'jewels, precious stones, cloth of gold, and all other things of goldsmith's work, also ribbons, gold and silver thread, silk wrought and unwrought, furs of sables, [and] marternes' and any other item deemed 'necessary for the King, the gentles of his Court or commons of his realm'.[51] It was probably from a milliner that Henry VIII obtained the sable skin that was described in the 1547 inventory has having:

> a hedd of golde conteyning in yt a clocke with a collar of gold enamelled blacke sett with iiij diamountes and foure rubies and with twoo perles hanging at the eares and twoo rubies in the yees the same skynne having also feete of golde the

[49] *SR*, II, Henry VII 19, c. 21.

[50] Hayward, '"The Sign of Some Degree"', p. 8.

[51] *L&P,* XIII.i.190.

> clawes thereof being saphyres twoo of theym being brokin with a dyamount vppon the clocke.[52]

This would appear to have been a particularly extravagant *zibellino*, a sable fur ornamented with metalwork; an example made of enamelled gold with rubies, garnets and pearls, survives at the Walters Art Museum (Fig. 48). The one listed in the 1547 inventory remained in Edward VI's possession and was amongst a number of items delivered to Lady Jane Grey at his death.[53] Such imports were also encouraged by the fact that anything that remained unsold could be re-exported, free of customs duty.[54] As has been seen Christopher Carcano presented Henry VIII with gifts of hats at New Year, but he also sold them to the king. For example, in December 1530 he was paid £5 11s 2d for 'divers bonettes aswell Ryding bonettes as other, trimmed and untrymmed'.[55] Carcano also made bonnets for the young Prince Edward in 1539, in crimson, purple, green and black velvet, each trimmed with gold aglets and a long white feather, very similar to the bonnet that he was depicted wearing in Holbein's portrait (Fig. 49).[56] The broad brims of Milan bonnets proved ideal for embellishment with brooches and feathers and were popular across Europe. In general women at the Tudor court favoured French and Spanish hoods; Elizabeth wore many different styles of headdress, some of which were Italian, such as the 'kell and bonet' (caul and bonnet) in the Italian style that she wore when the Scottish ambassador Sir James Melville was visiting, in which 'she delyted to schaw her golden coloured hair'.[57] However, it is not clear whether this was imported or made up in England. During the sixteenth century knitted silk stockings

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[52] *1547 Inventory*, no. 11535. *L&P*, XIX.i.88. Amongst the pieces of jewellery that Christopher Carcano was given a licence to import in February 1544 was 'one martron skynne with the head and claws of gold, the head garnished with iij emeralds, ij diamonds and iij rubies'.

[53] Scargill-Bird, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, I, pp. 128-9: 'Stuff delivered to the Lady Jane, usurper, at the Tower'. The list describes a sable skin 'with a head of gold, containing in it a clock, with a collar of gold, enamelled black, set with four diamonds, and four rubies, and two pearls hanging at the ears, and two rubies in the ears, the same skin having feet of gold, the claws thereof being sapphires ... and with a diamond upon the clock'.

[54] *L&P,* XIII.i.190.

[55] Nicolas, *The Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 99.

[56] L. Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters* (New Haven and London, 2008) p. 200; TNA, E315/456, f. 31.

[57] Melville, *Memoirs of His Own Life*, p. 123.

were also imported from Italy - Milan and Naples were manufacturing centres - but stockings could also come from Spain.[58] A warrant of 1543 shows a payment of 30s for 3 pairs of hose bought from Milan.[59] These were prized because their elasticity made them adhere to the legs better than stockings prepared with traditional fabrics; moreover, they were ready to wear without recourse to a tailor.[60] The 1547 inventory includes knitted hose of white silk and gold, and crimson silk and gold that had been bought from Christopher Carcano.[61] Elizabeth had many pairs of silk hose and some may have been imported, but it was also a skill that came to be learnt in England so that her hosiers, such as Ralph Abnett, were able to supply them directly.[62]

These small manufactured items had an inherent value as a means of display because of the high levels of technical skill and innovation that they often displayed; this made them desirable possessions for a monarch, particularly when they first became available. It is possibly an understanding of this on the part of Italian producers and merchants that resulted in the creation of objects in new forms that bore royal heraldic markers. The acquisition of such objects by the English monarch provided a potential point of entry into the English luxury goods market. This offers an alternate means by which the *lattimo* vase in imitation of porcelain that featured an image of Henry VII, which has already been discussed as a possible diplomatic gift, may have reached England. The possibility that it was not a unique gift is supported by the fact that the 1547 Inventory also includes amongst the 'Stanginge cuppes of glasse' a cruse 'painted blewe with A kinge crowned on the side'.[63] There is also a basin and 'leyer' of blue glass 'partely gilt', 'the Leyer having the kings Armes gilt vpon it',[64] and a 'Rounde hollowe Sesterne of glasse partelie guilte with the kynges Armes'.[65] Heraldry could also appear on another innovative product from Italy: maiolica. The tin-opacified glaze produced a white absorbent surface that was ideally suited to painting in brilliant colours, and could

[58] L. Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore and London, 2000), p. 296.

[59] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 102.

[60] Molà, *The Silk Industry*, p. 296.

[61] *1547 Inventory*, nos. 14255 and 14256.

[62] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, p. 206.

[63] *1547 Inventory*, no. 10995.

[64] *Ibid*., no. 10898.

[65] *Ibid*., no. 10978.

be rapidly adapted to meet new trends.[66] A maiolica vase that was excavated from the moat of the Tower of London features the royal arms of England that were in use between 1399 and 1603, albeit reversed, in the centre of a frieze of foliate ornament; technical analysis has confirmed that it was made in Tuscany (Fig.50).[67] Such pieces occupy an interesting space in a discussion of the modes of acquisition of Italian material culture in England; in all probability they came via the hands of merchants, but as has been shown these merchants could be acting both as traders and diplomats. The inclusion of royal arms, heraldry, and portraits suggests that these items were destined for royal possession. However, as to whether they arrived as a gift that was to form a personal bond, an exemplar of a new form of merchandise, or even a specific commission from England, is not completely clear. They are also hybrid items that demonstrate Italian technical expertise but which often take a form more common to Northern Europe.[68]

Fig. 50: Tuscany, possibly, Pesaro probably, Maiolica vase, 1480-1510, tin-glazed earthenware painted in cobalt blue, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, C.298-1938.

[66] D. Gaimster, 'Maiolica in the North: The Shock of the New', in D. Gaimster, ed., *Maiolica in the North: The Archaeology of Tin-Glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe* (London, 1999), p. 1.

[67] D. Gaimster, 'Imported Maiolica Vases Bearing the Royal Arms of England: A Reconsideration', in D. Gaimster, ed., *Maiolica in the North: The Archaeology of Tin-Glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe* (London, 1999), pp. 141-145.

[68] Tait, *The Golden Age*, p. 27: 'the Venetians would make glass to suit the taste of their patrons and just as they were making enamelled mosque-lamps for the Sultan in Egypt in the late fifteenth century, for example, so they made armorial glasses in German shapes'.

Taken together these imports did not, however, constitute the most valuable items that came from Italy and they could be derided as unnecessary fripperies. Thomas Smith's *Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England*, which was written in 1549 but first published in 1581, criticised a wide variety of continental imports such as glass, games, weapons, paper, earthen pots and buttons, and specifically listed brooches and aglets from Venice and Milan.[69] The author laid out the dual threat that such imports posed to English manufacture and the balance of trade:

> What number first of trifles comes hither from beyond the sea, that we might either clean spare, or else make them within our realm, for the which we either pay inestimable treasure every year, or else exchange substantial wares and necessary, for them, for the which we might receive great treasure.[70]

These were not new concerns; as early as 1436 the poem, 'The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye', denounced the 'nifles and trifles' that came in on the Florentine and Venetian ships.[71] The concern over England's balance of trade can be seen throughout the Tudor period in the repeated proclamations that limited the amount of money that could be taken out of the country.[72] In 1531 the Venetian ambassador Carlo Capello was forced to write to the Senate that the king's councillors were complaining that the galleys only brought 'glass and other things of no value' and as a result 'the Signory was not to send any more galleys to that island'.[73] The carefully worded reply defended the cargoes and their value to England, and in response to the Duke of Norfolk's claim that they brought less 'ready money', stressed that the galleys 'export wines, and load in return wools, tin,

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[69] T. Smith, *A Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England*, M. Dewar, ed. (Charlottesville, 1969), p. 64.

[70] *Ibid*., p. 63.

[71] G. Warner, ed., *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye: A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power 1436* (Oxford, 1926), p. 18.

[72] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, p. 11, 2 Henry VII: Prohibiting Unlicensed Money Exchange; p. 199, 23 Henry VIII: Prohibiting Export of Gold and Silver; p. 541, 7 Edward VI: Permitting Merchants to Carry £4 out of Realm; II, p. 62, 2&3 Philip and Mary: Allowing Merchants Adventurer £4 Expense Money; p. 113, Elizabeth I: Prohibiting Export of All Gold and Coin; allowing merchants to take £4 out of realm.

[73] *CSPV*, IV. 704.

and cloths, to the profit of his Majesty'.[74] This turn of events was in marked contrast to Henry VIII's obvious appreciation of the return to England of the Venetian 'Flanders' galleys in 1518, following the interruption to trade caused by both the wars of the League of Cambrai and the renewal of Anglo-French conflict. Henry travelled to Southampton to visit the galleys in person and Sebastiano Giustinian reported back to the Venetian Senate of the king's reception on board the flag-galley:

> ... on either side of the platform were four rows of tables, served with all kinds of confectionery ... the King passed down the centre, and when he got upon the poop, a variety of dishes, containing sponge cakes and other confections, were produced, and, after they had been tasted by the King, distributed amongst the barons, lords, and other great personages ... The King several times praised the arrangements. Then the officials of the galleys performed feats on slack ropes suspended from the mast, to the great wonder of spectators unaccustomed to witness such feats.[75]

Within this display the most prominence was given to 'a spacious platform decorated with every sort of tapestry and silk' and it was this cargo, along with spices, in which the king was most interested. Thirteen years later, by the time that Capello was ambassador, the situation had changed: the Portuguese at this point were dominating the spice trade and the raw silks from Sicily that supplied Venice's looms had been diverted to other markets.[76]

Silk fabrics dominated Anglo-Italian trade and by the end of the sixteenth century luxury cloths in general had become the most important group of imports.[77] Silk

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[74] *CSPV*, IV. 704.

[75] *CSPV*, II. 1041; Brown, *Four Years*, II, n. 5, p. 195. The 'feats on slack ropes' were most likely an exhibition of skills that were reminiscent of the celebrations during Carnival in Venice. On the last Thursday of the festivities a rope, secured to a lighter off the Piazzetta and the other to the gallery of St. Mark's tower, served a Venetian mariner as the means of reaching the belfry from the sea; the Doge used to witness the feat from the gallery of the ducal palace, and when the mariner had reached the tower he descended to his sovereign and presented him with a nosegay, then ascended again to the tower and crossed back by the rope to the sea.

[76] *CSPV*, IV. 704.

[77] L. Stone, 'Elizabethan Overseas Trade', *The Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 2.1 (1949), p. 49.

manufacture was one of the most important Italian economic activities during the Renaissance; it was encouraged by protectionist legislation in the silk-weaving towns, and silk products from the peninsula dominated both the European and Levantine markets as a result of aggressive international marketing.[78] The main centres of production were distributed across the Italian peninsula: in Florence, Lucca, Bologna, Genoa, Venice, Milan and Naples.[79] However, it must be noted that Italy did not hold the monopoly on the weaving of silk cloth; Spain's sericulture allowed it to produce its own cloths, and silk-weaving had also been taken up in the mid-fifteenth century in France and the Low Countries, in part due to the emigration of Italian artisans and entrepreneurs.[80] The northern weavers tended to mix silk with other fibres, creating lighter, cheaper fabrics, such as Bruges satin, and it was this tradition that was brought to England by the immigration of Flemish, Walloon and French Protestant refugees in the 1560s.[81] By contrast many of the Italian centres continued in the production of the more expensive pure silk cloths, such as velvets and taffetas. These luxurious textiles made up a significant part of the means by which the Tudor monarchs displayed their magnificence: in clothing, furnishings and cloths of state. The prestige of Italian silks meant that the English royal expenditure on such products was not an isolated phenomenon within Europe; it has been estimated that around the middle of the sixteenth century Italian silk products made up 30% of all French imports.[82] Nor was it a late fifteenth-century innovation; a portrait of Edward IV depicts him wearing a sumptuous gown of black cloth of gold with a pomegranate design (Fig. 51) and English kings also bought Italian silks in the fourteenth century.[83] However, the volume of silks purchased by the Tudor monarchs, particularly by Henry VIII, meant that they formed a vital component of Tudor magnificence and thus played a central role in England's engagement with Italy.

The most luxurious of the silk fabrics were the cloths of gold and silver. These incorporated metal *filé* thread, and as a result had an extremely high, and ostentatious,

[78] Monnas, *Merchants*, p. 4.

[79] Molà, *The Silk Industry*, p. xv.

[80] *Ibid*., p. 20.

[81] *Ibid*., p. 25.

[82] *Ibid*., p. xv.

[83] Monnas, *Merchants*, p. 15. In the 1390s Richard II purchased various Italian figured velvets.

Fig. 51: British School, *Edward IV*, oil on panel, *c*. 1470-1500, The Royal Collection, RCIN 403435

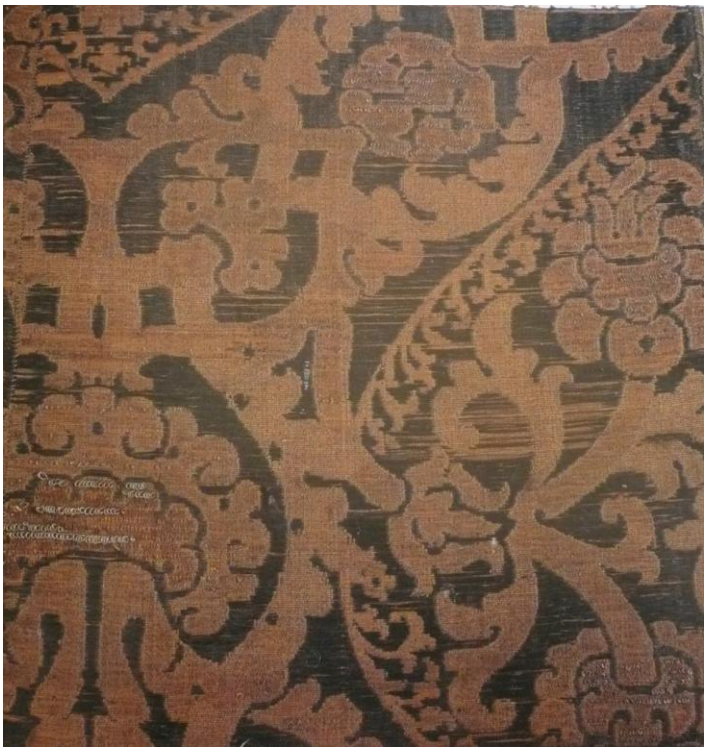

Fig. 52: Florentine, possibly, Fragment of cloth of tissue, *c*. 1540s-50s, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 853b-1892.

value. The most expensive of these were the cloths that had raised weft loops of gold or silver that rose above a ground weave that also incorporated metal-wrapped threads and metal wire; they were described as *riccio sopra riccio* in Italy, and known as 'cloth of tissue' in England. [84] An example of this type of cloth can be seen in Fig. 52. It seems that this English term derived from the French *tissu*,[85] perhaps suggestive of the way in which the English demand for Italian silks was initially mediated by the tastes of the courts of France and Burgundy. During the fifteenth century Italian weavers developed a whole variety of velvets that were enriched with gold loops; the Spanish too created some, termed *terciopelos anillados*,[86] but the technique of brocading that allowed the loops to be confined to specific areas of the fabric was a recognised Florentine speciality. In 1492 the silk guild of Florence resolved to prevent the spreading of this talent abroad.[87] It is likely that most of the cloth of tissue that was owned by the Tudor monarchs was of Italian origin because it was generally supplied by Italian merchants: men such as Antonio Corsi,[88] Lorenzo Bonvisi,[89] Giovanni Cavalcanti, Francis de Bardi,[90] Leonardo Frescobaldi, Anthonio Cavallari,[91] Domenico Erizo and Antonio Carsidoni.[92] They sold silks directly to the Great Wardrobe, which was responsible for the production of the monarch's clothes and those of the household, and also for storing the supplies of textiles.[93] In England Italians remained associated with the weaving of cloths of gold and silver into the seventeenth century, indeed the only branch of the

[84] *Ibid*., p. 300; Monnas, '"Tissues"', pp. 63-80.

[85] *Ibid*., p. 63.

[86] *Ibid*., p. 67.

[87] Monnas, *Merchants*, p. 58.

[88] Bentley, 'Extracts from the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII', p. 121. In 1499 Antonio Corsi was paid £522 10s for a cloth of estate, containing 47 ½ yards of cloth, priced at £11 per yard.

[89] Monnas, *Merchants*, p. 26.

[90] *L&P,* III.ii, p. 1520. The King's Book of Payments for April 1520 include payments 'To Cavalcaunte, for cloth of gold, velvet, &c., 2,355l 17s 4d' and 'To Fras. De Barde, for cloth of gold, &c., 1,497l 12s 2 ½d'.

[91] *L&P,* II.i.2736. In a list from 1516 of fees and annuities paid by the king 'Leonard Fyscobaldi and Anth. Cavallary' received £20 as 'purveyors of gold and silver cloths, for life.'

[92] *1542 Inventory*, B53: 'to Dominico Erizo and Anthony Carcydony for Jewelles plate Riche clothe of Gold Silver tissue and sondrie sortes of veluettes and silks xvjM[1].CCCxx li xv s ij d ob qrt'.

[93] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, pp. 25-39.

English silk industry in which Italian craftsmen were foremost was in the production of these cloths.[94]

The 1533 'Act for Reformacyon of Excesse in Apparayle' reserved the use of cloth of tissue to the king and his immediate family, and this clause was retained in a proclamation by Elizabeth.[95] There were some exceptions: dukes and marquises could wear in doublets and sleeveless coats cloth of gold of tissue not exceeding £5 the yard.[96] However, this did not necessarily equate to monarchical splendour because the cloth could cost far more than £5 a yard; Henry VII spent £170 on 12 ¾ yards of cloth of tissue in May 1490, which he bought from a Florentine merchant.[97] Further variants of cloth of gold were the 'tinsels', which incorporated metal thread in a satin ground weave, and the fabric 'wyred the back of silver', *teletta arricciatta*, in which the *filé* threads were not only visible in the brocade on the surface but also travelled behind on the reverse in areas where they were redundant on the surface.[98] The wearing of these cloths was slightly less restricted: earls, and all grades above earls could use them, and viscounts and barons could use them in doublets and sleeveless coats.[99] The specific detail in the statutes suggests that it was cloth of tissue, along with purple velvet, which was most closely associated with royalty and this, therefore, will form the basis of an analysis of the use of Italian textiles by the Tudor monarchs.

The reservation of cloths for the English monarchs in the statutes of apparel enabled the most expensively enriched cloths to identify the monarch, or, if worn by a subject, to display their proximity to rule because the right to wear the cloth would have been granted by royalty. Eight days after Henry VII's victory at Bosworth some items of clothing were delivered to him, including a long gown of cloth of gold priced at £6 2s

[94] Molà, *The Silk Industry*, p. 26.

[95] *SR*, III, 24 Henry VIII c. 13. This statute further elaborated upon an earlier 'Act against wearing of costly Apparrell' passed in the first year of Henry VIII's reign, *SR*, III, 1, Henry VIII c. 14. For Elizabeth enforcing this statute in 1559 see Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, II, p. 136.

[96] *SR*, III, 24 Henry VIII c. 13.

[97] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 80; TNA, E404/80, 647 and 648. Hayward transcribes the name of the merchant as 'Marone Stroes', which could have been Marco Strozzi, who was consul of the Florentine nation in London.

[98] Monnas, *Merchants*, pp. 303, 191.

[99] *SR*, III, 24 Henry VIII c. 13.

the yard and lined with black satin.[100] Comparison with the prices of cloth in the inventory of the Wardrobe of the Robes prepared in 1521 suggests that this gown would have been made from cloth of tissue; in the inventory a piece of black cloth of gold damask was valued at 40s the yard whilst a piece of black cloth of gold tissue was valued at £5 per yard.[101] Possession of such an item was a means by which Henry could take on the role of king. For his coronation ten yards of 'riche clothe of gold tisshue of purpull grounde' was bought from 'Jarome Frustoball', most likely one of the Frescobaldi from Florence.[102] The use of cloth of tissue as a regal identifier can perhaps most clearly be seen in the mantle of estate. This did not form part of Henry VIII's coronation robes, which were of purple velvet, or his parliamentary robes of crimson velvet, but was nonetheless made at the time of his coronation and he wore it on important occasions throughout his reign. During the entertainment of the imperial ambassadors in 1517 Francesco Chieregato, the apostolic nuncio, noted that Henry wore 'royal robes down to the ground, of gold brocade lined with ermine' when attending mass on St. Peter's day.[103] This seems very similar to the mantle that Henry wears in the portrait *Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons* (Fig. 53).[104] A similar mantle of estate formed part of Mary's coronation robes; an account from her coronation from the Lord Chamberlain's Office records the provision of:

> a robe of white clothe of golde Tisshewe conteyninge one Mantle and one kirtle furred with powdered ermyons with a Mantelace with buttons and Tassells of whyte silke and golde with hokes & Annelettes of Silver and gylte for the saide kirtle the which Mantell kirtle and Surcoate the queens Majestie did were ridinge in her horslitter frome the Tower of London to Westminster upon the eve of the Coronacion.[105]

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[100] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 79; Campbell *Materials for a History*, I, pp. 179-81.

[101] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 423, B427, B431.

[102] Campbell, *Materials for a History*, II, pp. 6-7. In total silks to the value of £478 12s were bought from Frescobaldi in preparation for the coronation.

[103] *CSPV*, II.918.

[104] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 135.

[105] J. Arnold, 'The "Coronation" Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I', *Burlington Magazine*, 120 (1978), p. 727, n. 7; TNA, LC5/32, p. 219.

Fig. 53: Hans Holbein the Younger and workshop, *Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons,* oil on panel, *c*. 1540, The Worshipful Company of Barbers, Barbers' Hall, London.

Fig. 54: Unknown artist, *Elizabeth I,* oil on panel, late sixteenth, early seventeenth century, probably a copy of a lost original *c*. 1559, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5175.

Fig. 55: Nicholas Hilliard, *Elizabeth I,* gouache and vellum on card, *c*. 1570, Private Collection.

The mantle and kirtle were then reused for Elizabeth's coronation and she wore them both during the recognition procession on 14 June and during the coronation itself on the following day.[106] They are both recorded in the 1600 inventory: 'one Mantle of Clothe of golde tissued with golde and silver furred with powered Armyons with a Mantle lace of silke and golde with buttons and Tassells to the same' and 'one kirtle of the same tissue the traine and skirts furred with powdered Armyons the rest lined with Sarceonet with a paire of bodies and sleeves to the same',[107] and in two portraits: one dating from *c.* 1600 after a lost original from 1559 (Fig. 54), and the other a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard based on a miniature painted in 1570 or early in 1571 (Fig. 55).[108] The original fabric cost £6 per yard and the alterations for Elizabeth were made using fabric that cost £4 a yard. This could have been made to order because the portrait of Elizabeth seems to depict the cloth as woven with roses and fleur-de-lis, but it could also have come from the stores of the Great Wardrobe; a list of fabrics taken in the first year of Edward VI's reign included one parcel of 'Clothe of golde and siluer Tishewed with golde & siluer' that was made up of 'CCxlviij yerdes j quarter j naile'.[109] Thus it can be seen that a form of textile that was most likely to have been made in Italy and to have been purchased from Italian merchants was used to cloak the English monarch in their office.

Cloth of tissue was not only used in the monarch's ceremonial wardrobe; James Worsley's inventory of the Wardrobe of the Robes, taken in January 1521 provides an impression of the amount of cloth of tissue that Henry VIII wore more generally.[110] The material formed the basis for some of the most expensive items such as the 'Riche gowne of crimosyn cloth of gold tissewe with wide slyues damaske gold furred with pouderd ermynes' which was valued at four hundred pounds.[111] The inventory lists

[106] M. Bellorini, 'Da Londra a Mantova: immagini di vita e di cultura inglese nella corrispondenza di Aloiso Schivenoglia (1556-1560)', *Studi di letteratura inglese e americana* (Milan, 1980), p. 79. The Mantuan envoy recorded that 'sua Maestà era vestita d'un Manto regale d'oro riccio, sopra riccio ricchissimo'.

[107] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, p. 255; BL, MS Stowe 557, f. 11.

[108] For a discussion of these two portraits see Arnold, 'The "Coronation" Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I', pp. 727-741.

[109] *1547 Inventory*, no. 14981.

[110] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, pp. 413-432. This is a transcript of BL, MS Harley 4217.

[111] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

eight gowns, three shamers, two frocks, one mantle, one cloak, eleven jackets, three coats and fourteen doublets that included cloth of tissue.[112] Edward, Mary and Elizabeth also wore the material, but to a lesser extent than their father. The detailed wardrobe records do not survive for their reigns but the inventory taken in July 1600 of all the clothes, silks and personal jewels belonging to Elizabeth includes some items that had been kept from Edward and Mary.[113] Of the fourteen pieces that survived that had originally belonged to Edward, three included cloth of tissue, and of the twenty-one from Mary, seven included cloth of tissue.[114] This is unlikely to represent the true proportion of cloth of tissue that Mary and Edward owned since the most expensive items were the ones that were more likely to be retained, because their value transformed them into state treasure. This inventory does however reveal the decrease in the use of cloth of tissue that had occurred by the end of Elizabeth's reign. Of the hundred and two French gowns and coverings that Elizabeth owned only four included tissue.[115] Similarly only one of her one hundred loose gowns and five of her one hundred and twenty-six round kirtles were made from tissue.[116] By comparison with the 1521 inventory it would seem that cloth of tissue made up a far higher proportion of Henry VIII's clothing: forty-four out of three hundred and four items, excluding ceremonial robes.[117] This is likely to have arisen in part due to changes in fashion; the volume of *filé* thread rendered cloth of tissue difficult to work with and cumbersome to wear and at the same time the Elizabethan love of emblems could be better realised through embroidering plain fabrics. It could also reflect a declining level of supply. Nearly all of Henry VIII's cloth of tissue was bought directly from Italian merchants, and he was able to demand first sight of their wares in exchange for the import licence.[118] That this was actually carried out can be seen in the records of the Cavalcanti and Bardi company in London. For example, on 18 December 1523 Antonio Carsidoni,

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[112] *Ibid*., pp. 413-421.

[113] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, pp. 251-334. This is a transcript of BL, Stowe MS 557 and LR2/121 in the TNA.

[114] *Ibid*., pp. 252-255. That is 21.4% and 33.3%.

[115] *Ibid*., pp. 261-271. That is just under 4%.

[116] *Ibid*., pp. 275-288. That is 1% and just under 4%.

[117] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, pp. 413-421. That is 14.5%.

[118] *L&P*, III.ii.2214. Grants in April 1522 include one for 'John Cavalcanti, merchant of Florence, gentleman-usher of the Chamber. Licence to import cloths of gold, silver and damask, gold cloths of 'tynsyn saten' with gold, and all other cloths wrought with gold. The King to have first choice'.

the company's factor travelled to see the king at Chertsey with a range of tissues and tinsel satins and then made a quick return trip to London in order to bring a doublet of gold tissue the following day.[119] By the end of his reign Henry had built up enormous stores of the cloth. Edward VI made some extensive purchases from the Venetian, Domenico Erizo,[120] but by the second half of the sixteenth century there was a clear reduction in the number of high status Italian merchants, particularly the Florentines. The effect of this on the availability of high quality cloth in England can be seen in the fact that it was from Horatio Palavicino, when he was working in Paris, that Francis Walsingham obtained cloth of gold to give to Elizabeth.[121] Similarly, it was from Paris that ambassador Sir Amias Paulet complained that he could not obtain the best cloth because 'the plague in Italy and the disorder of the money here' meant 'that nothing comes out of those parts'.[122] This suggests that little of the 'best cloth' was available in London.

That a product which was mostly produced in Italy and sold by Italian merchants should have performed such a crucial role in the display of the English monarch's authority was not unusual. Silks that were worth their weight in gold had become part of the language of power of the rulers of Europe; such was their value that they were almost viewed as a raw material, similar to the way in which plate was ultimately valued by weight rather than craftsmanship. This can be seen in the way in which marriage portraits often carefully recorded the details of the expensive cloth that the sitter was wearing. For example, a portrait of Henry VII from 1505, which was commissioned in order to be sent abroad as part of marriage negotiations for the English king to marry Margaret of Savoy, the daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I (Fig. 56), includes a depiction of the shimmering surface of his gown in order to suggest the way in which the extra loops of gold caught the light. Similarly, Anthois Mor's 1554 portrait of Mary, which was commissioned by her new husband Philip II, scrupulously records the looped silver threads of her under-sleeves and forepart which emerge from beneath her more sober black velvet gown (Fig. 57).

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[119] Sicca, 'Fashioning the Tudor Court', p. 98. Sicca also notes other occasions when Carsidoni travelled to see the king in 1525 and 1529.

[120] *1547 Inventory*, nos.16143-16159, 16184-16197, 16223-16233, 16258-16261, 16312-16316.

[121] *CSPF*, 1582, no. 224.

[122] *CSPF*, 1577, no. 543.

Fig. 56: Unknown artist, *Henry VII*, oil on panel, 1505, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 416.

Fig. 57: Anthonis Mor, *Mary I*, oil on panel, 1554, Museo del Prado, Madrid, P02108.

Fig. 58: Henry VII's hearse-cloth, cloth of gold and crimson velvet, *c*. 1504-5, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AN2009.52.

Fig. 59: British School, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, detail, oil on canvas, *c*. 1545, The Royal Collection, RCIN 405794.

Rich textiles did not just clothe majesty, they surrounded it. For example, Henry VII made provision for a requiem service to be held annually at Oxford and Cambridge at which a hearse and hearse-cloth were to be present. These survive at the Fitzwilliam and Ashmolean museums and it is possible that the Oxford cloth is made from Venetian textiles (Fig. 58).[123] The Venetian ambassador Andrea Trevisan reported meeting Henry VII at Woodstock in a small hall hung with tapestry where the king was 'leaning against a tall gilt chair, covered with cloth of gold' and wearing 'a violet-coloured gown, lined with cloth of gold'.[124] The use of textiles to suggest a suitably regal setting was possibly taken to its greatest extreme by Henry VIII. Between 1509 and 1521 the four leading areas of his expenditure were: ordnance, £50,759; textiles, £49,984; plate and jewels, £45,775; and the revels and court ceremonial, £22,670.[125] This amounts to an astonishing expenditure on textiles, even taking into account the distortion to the figures caused by the payment of £10,480 for cloth in 1520, payments for the extravagance of the Field of the Cloth of Gold and the meetings with Charles V.[126] The importance of textiles on those occasions was noted by John Fisher in a 1520 sermon, where he questioned:

> Was it not a great thing, within so short a space to see three great princes of this world – I mean the Emperor, and the King our master, and the French king; and each of these three in so great honour, showing their royalty, showing their riches, showing their power, with each of their noblesse appointed and apparelled in rich clothes, in silks, velvets, cloths of gold, and such other precious raiments.[127]

At these meetings the use of Italian textiles extended beyond clothing into the very setting in which the monarchs placed themselves. When the meeting with Francis I was

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[123] H. Tait, 'The Hearse-Cloth of Henry VII Belonging to the University of Cambridge', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19 (1956), pp. 294-8.

[124] *CSPV* I.754.

[125] M. Hayward, 'Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII' in C. Richardson, ed., *Clothing Culture, 1350-1600* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 173.

[126] *Ibid*., p. 173.

[127] M. Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham, 2009), p. 23; D. Starkey, ed., *Rivals in Power: Lives and Letters of the Great Tudor Dynasties* (London, 1990), p. 56.

first suggested in 1515, the Venetian ambassador on his way to England, Sebastiano Giustinian, reported that 'the King of England had despatched a messenger to Florence to purchase a great quantity of cloths of gold and silk, that he might receive King Francis with honour'.[128] This suggests a level of personal choice on Henry's part to obtain Italian textiles. The golden tents that were depicted in *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* (Fig. 59), and which were recorded in the accounts of ambassadors,[129] were not unprecedented; Niccolò Sagudino, the secretary to the Venetian ambassador, described jousts held in July 1517 to celebrate an English alliance with Spain where 'on one side two tents were pitched, one of cloth of gold' which had been made up in France when Henry was there in 1513.[130] It is possible that the cloth for these was from Florence; in Calais that year Henry personally bought 25 yards of white cloth of gold, 18 ½ yards of green cloth of gold and 25 yards of white silver satin cloth of gold from a Florentine merchant, 'Charowchon'.[131] The 1547 inventory shows the extent to which cloth of tissue was used at Henry VIII's court. It made up cloths of estate, such as the one hanging behind the young prince Edward in a portrait from *c*. 1546 (Fig. 60), covered cushions, stools and chairs. It even moved out of the palace and into the chase; Henry gave Francis I a bow case and quiver covered in yellow cloth of gold tissue and a surviving hawk hood in the Tradescant collection at the Ashmolean Museum that is associated with Henry VIII features the distinctive raised metal loops (Fig. 61).[132] As was the case with clothing, far less tissue was in store by 1600, and this suggests that it was used in furnishing to a slightly lesser extent by Elizabeth's reign. This would reinforce the notion that diminished supply played a role rather than simply changes in fashion. Nonetheless, for certain occasions tissue did retain its central role: the litter which carried Elizabeth during her coronation procession was covered in 'Clothe of

[128] *CSPV*, II.585.

[129] ASMn, A.G., b. 636. The Mantuan ambassador at the French court, Soardino, described 'uno pavilione di pann doro ... nel quale li dui re parlorno'.

[130] Brown, *Four Years*, II, p. 102.

[131] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 33; BL, MS Stowe 146, f. 94r.

[132] Sicca, 'Fashioning the Tudor Court', p. 103, n. 85. Similar items were supplied by the firm of Cavalcanti and Bardi to Henry VIII.

Fig. 60: William Scrots, attributed to, *Edward VI*, oil on panel, *c*. 1546, The Royal Collection, RCIN 404441.

Fig. 61: Hawk Hood covered in cloth of tissue, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AN1656 p.47.1.

Tisshewe of the Richest sorte the ground Silver and Tisshewe gold', and the Coronation Chair at Westminster was also specially covered with cloth of tissue.[133] This continued into James I's reign when nearly all of the pieces of cloth of tissue that remained in store in 1600 were delivered to 'John baker upholster', and John grene coffermaker' in 1603 to make the cloth of estate, stools, chairs and cushions for James' coronation.[134]

When used in clothing and furnishing the inventories and warrants do not suggest a place of origin for these textiles, only the fact that it was cloth of tissue was noted. However, there was one notable exception to this – when cloth was commissioned to be woven to a specific design in Italy. A well documented example of this is the set of twenty-nine copes along with vestments for a priest, deacon and subdeacon which were ordered by Henry VII and which he bequeathed to Westminster Abbey. Such was the size of the commission that it was handled by both Antonio Corsi of Florence and Lorenzo and Ieronimo Bonvisi of Lucca.[135] What is notable is that Henry's will specifically recorded the fact that he had caused the set 'to be made, brought and provided, at Florence in Ittalie'; their place of production added to their prestige, and apart from the relics of St. George and the Holy Cross they are the only pieces mentioned in the will of which the origin is noted.[136] It was a costly commission - Antonio Corsi was paid £287 6s 8d 'opon his bille for vestmentes and coopes' in April 1500.[137] The prestige attached to the copes and vestments was such that, although they left royal possession at Henry VII's death, Henry VIII borrowed them from Westminster Abbey to take to the Field of the Cloth of Gold and an account of 1522 mentions repairing nine of the copes so that they could be sent from Westminster to London during the visit of Charles V.[138] They formed an integral part of Henry VIII's

[133] G. Beard, *Upholsterers and Interior Furnishing in England 1530-1842* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 23, 283; BL, MS Egerton 3320, f. 5 for a drawing of the litter**.** Munby, 'Queen Elizabeth's Coaches', pp. 315-56 gives details of the wardrobe accounts for making up Elizabeth's coaches, and it is notable that only one incorporated cloth of tissue: in 1567 a coach that was made had a covering of purple tissue which had been delivered from the Privy Wardrobe. This could be indicative of changing fashions, but also of difficulties in supply.

[134] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, pp. 321-323, nos. 3, 30, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39.

[135] Monnas, 'New Documents', p. 346.

[136] Astle, *The Will*, p. 37.

[137] TNA, E101/415/3, f. 19; Monnas, 'New Documents', p. 347.

[138] Monnas, '"Tissues"', p. 79.

competitive display. At the dissolution of the monastery of St. Peter's at Westminster Henry took advantage of the opportunity to take possession of part of the set; fourteen of the copes were selected for Henry VIII, and can possibly be identified in the 1547 inventory as the 'thrittene Coope of clothe of golde tissue reised with <crymsen> vellat'.[139]

The Stonyhurst copes are a rare survival but it seems possible that many other items were specifically woven to order for Henry VIII. In 1515 Sebastiano Giustinian described a meeting with the king at Richmond palace on St George's day in which Henry 'was leaning against his gilt throne, on which was a large brocade cushion, where the long gold sword of state lay' beneath 'a canopy of cloth of gold, embroidered at Florence, the most costly thing I ever witnessed'.[140] The agents for such a commission were possibly the firm of Cavalcanti and Bardi; in 1533 the Venetian Senate passed a motion allowing Giovanni Cavalcanti to pass through their territory without paying duty on pieces of cloth of gold and silk 'which the King has had wrought in Florence for his own use'.[141] Thus it is possible that the cloth of estate, with a ceeler featuring the portcullis device and a tester with the Tudor rose, which is depicted in the portrait of Margaret Beaufort that survives at St. John's College Cambridge (Fig. 62), was not the invention of the artist but a record of an actual piece of specially commissioned cloth. The 1547 inventory lists 'a Clothe of Estate of clothe of golde tissued with Roses and portecolesses' at Greenwich and 'one clothe of Estate conteyning a Ceeler and a Tester of Clothe of golde raised with Crimsen vellat pirled and portecloses of Tissue crowned hauing iiij borders of S and Rooses of Tissue withowte armes Borders or other Badges embraudered' at Westminster.[142] Both of these sound similar to the design of the Stonyhurst copes (Fig. 63) and the inclusion of the portcullises would suggest that they were a specific English commission. They remained in royal possession until the sale in 1649 of Charles I's goods; the former was valued at £50 and the latter must have been

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[139] *Ibid*., p. 68.

[140] Brown, *Four Years*, I, p. 85.

[141] *CSPV*, III.503.

[142] *1547 Inventory*, nos. 9298 and 9762. For a general discussion of Henry VIII's cloths of estate see M. Hayward, 'Symbols of Majesty: Cloths of Estate at the Court of Henry VIII', *Furniture History*, 41 (2005), pp. 1-11.

Fig. 62: Rowland Lockey, *Lady Margaret Beaufort*, oil on panel, *c.* 1598, St. John's College, Cambridge.

Fig. 63: *The Stonyhurst Cope*, detail, cloth of gold velvet, Florence, *c.* 1495-1505, orphreys and hood embroidered in England and possibly added in the seventeenth century, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Loan: Stonyhurst.1.

much damaged because it was only thought to be worth £6.[143] Such textiles, featuring Tudor heraldry, were however, not to be worn by the monarch. In 1527 Pierfrancesco de Piero Bardi wrote to Giovanni Cavalcanti in Florence, complaining that he could not sell a doublet to the king that had been made up in Florence to a new design, because it featured Tudor heraldry, for 'a king is never happy to wear fabrics woven with his badges and devices as you have done in several instances'.[144]

Cloths of gold were not the only textiles imported from Italy; another Venetian ambassador, Andrea Badoer, wrote to his brother describing his arrival in England in 1512 and his difficulties in obtaining suitable clothing, stating that 'here they manufacture no cloths of silk, receiving all such from Genoa, Florence, and Lucca - a most grievous and lamentable fact, for it behoved me to take what I could get, and shut my eyes'.[145] The Italian silks took many forms: velvets, where a supplementary warp created a raised pile, damasks, which had a reversible pattern created by using contrasting faces of the weave, satins, in which a smooth surface was created by the warp threads floating over a number of weft threads, and taffetas and sarsenets, thin lightweight fabrics that were originally made in the East but by the fourteenth century were being produced in a number of Italian cities.[146] As with the cloths of gold the value of the fabrics rested less in the intricacy of their construction than in the amount of silk required; thus the thick pile of velvets, which was formed by the extra warp, rendered them more costly. These were the fabrics that clothed the Tudor monarchs and, just as with cloth of tissue, attempts were made to regulate their use. An act 'agaynst wearing of costly Apparrell' was issued in the first year of Henry VIII's reign that imposed restrictions on who could wear velvet, satin and damask.[147] This was interpreted as a move to encourage the gentry to 'save their money for the purchase of arms and horses' by the Venetian merchant Lorenzo Pasqualigo in a letter to his brother, and he also noted that the law 'was very injurious to the Genoese and Tuscans, who had gone to

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[143] Millar, 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods', p. 324, no. 26 and p. 281, no. 82; MacGregor, *The Late King's Goods*, p. 315.

[144] Sicca, 'Fashioning the Tudor Court', p. 103, n. 86. This is Sicca's translation of a transcription from ASF, Venturi Ginori Lisci 475, f. 189.

[145] Brown, *Four Years*, I, p. 67.

[146] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, pp. 91-2.

[147] *SR*, III, 1 Henry VIII c. 14.

London with cloths of silk, and should the law remain in force, they would assuredly be unable to remain'.[148] Badoer's letter the following year suggests that Italian cloth did not cease to become available in England as a result of the restrictions; indeed, the fact that statutes of apparel were repeatedly enacted is probably indicative of their limited success. The caveat must be added that the Italian origin of the cloth was not necessarily noted; it was its cut that made an impression and thus in England the textiles were reformed. Badoer's letter to his brother goes on to bemoan the fact that he had 'bought everything new, at its weight in gold, at the greatest inconvenience, and worse; for, when at Venice, I shall be unable to use my apparel, as it is all made more according to the English fashion than that of Italy'.[149] Richard Moryson used this idea of the transformation of Italian fabric through its cut as a metaphor when he wrote on proposals to codify English law; he stated that the new law should take the form of Roman law but preserve the spirit of the English law, which would be as easy to do as 'for an englishe taylour to make of an italian velvet an englishe gowne'.[150] As Italian textiles came to be used ubiquitously they shed association with their origins; where Henry VII's will stressed that the copes for Westminster were 'brought and provided, at Florence in Ittalie',[151] the origin of the cloths used in the items of clothing that were recorded in the great Wardrobe were not noted. Instead the style of item was recorded: Almain doublets, Spanish capes and French and Italian gowns.[152]

Cloth retained its origin identifier when it was in its unused state, with the names of cities where it was produced used as adjectives to describe the bolts of cloth: Florence,

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[148] *CSPV*, II.138.

[149] Brown, *Four Years*, p. 67.

[150] D. Starkey, 'England' in R. Porter and M. Teich eds., *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 159; BL, MS Royal 18 A.l, f. 24.

[151] Astle, *The Will of King Henry VII*, p. 37.

[152] Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 420, no. B259 in 1521 Inventory of the Wardrobe of the Robes: 'Item an almayn doblet of tawny tylsent lyned with blake sarcenet tufted with lynen cloth'; *The 1547 Inventory*, no. 14308: 'Item A spanishe Cape of crimesen Satten figarid with velut'; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, p. 261. The 1600 Inventory of the Wardrobe of the Robes lists many French gowns such as 'Item one frenche gowne of purple cloth of golde tissue bounde aboute with a lace of venice golde and silver edged with Sables' ; Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, p. 96. At New Year 1543 amongst the gifts presented to Mary was 'a payr of wrought Sleves & pullers out for an Italian gowne wrought'.

Milan, Genoa and Lucca.[153] It is in this state that is possible to trace some of the purchases of Italian textiles. The only silk cloth with a specified Italian origin in the customs books for 1507, 1550 and 1582 is sarsenet from Bologna and Florence. The rates also cover fustian, a mixed cloth that could include cotton but might also combine wool and linen, which was made in Naples, Genoa and Milan, and also woollen cloth from Florence.[154] However, royal warrants and the accounts for the royal Wardrobe do include more varieties, possibly because the fabrics were specially imported by royal licence. The 1542 inventory suggests that the majority of the monochrome velvet used by Henry VIII was imported from Lucca and Genoa,[155] in colours such as black, crimson, green, murrey, orange, purple, red, russet and yellow.[156] Thus Giustinian's report that Henry was 'the best dressed sovereign in the world: his robes are the richest and most superb that can be imagined; and he puts on new clothes every holiday' was an impression given in the main by Italian textiles.[157] This trend continued throughout the sixteenth century. The accounts for the livery issued for the coronation of Edward VI included 819 ½ yards of crimson velvet of Lucca, which was the most expensive cloth to be distributed, and 378 yards of crimson velvet of Genoa, which was used to make the guards applied to damask gowns and cloaks for privy chamber members.[158] Similarly, Elizabeth's Keeper of the Great Wardrobe's livery included 28 yards of fine black Lucchese velvet.[159] These products also remained suitable for royal clothing; an order of russet velvet for a gown for Mary, recorded in the 1557 Wardrobe Accounts book, was divided into two parts: 14 ¾ yards of Lucchese silk were required at 25s a yard, as well as 5 ¼ yards of Genoese silk at 22s a yard.[160]

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[153] *1547 Inventory*. Amongst the cloths remaining the in Great Wardrobe at Henry VIII's death was no. 14713: 'Crymisyn of florence'; no. 2086: 'Item oone pece of white mylyan fustian'; no. 14781: 'Tawnye Jeane at xj^{s} the yarde lij yeres iij quarters'; no. 16307: 'one pece of chaungeable lukes vellet contaynynge xx yards quarter'.

[154] See Table 1.

[155] Thomas, *The History of Italy*, p. 108. Thomas noted that the Genoese 'make such a number of silks and velvets as are able to serve many countries, which is the chief merchandise that they send forth'.

[156] *1542 Inventory*, pp. 127-134.

[157] Brown, *Four Years*, p. 313.

[158] TNA, LC2/3/1, f. 129; Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, p. 246

[159] Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, p. 163.

[160] Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', p. 15.

The position of these textiles within the broader English context was, however, contentious. Their spread into the general market, imported by both Italians and the English merchants who moved further into the Mediterranean in the latter half of the sixteenth century, was viewed as a potential risk to the general economy. This was in the main due to the potential for upsetting the balance of trade, as can be seen in the royal proclamation of 1574 that enforced statutes of apparel.[161] Such statutes illustrate the attempts that were made to curtail expenditure, but their repeated enactment suggests that they were not successful, and in 1602 the Duke of Stettin reported that 'the English show themselves very well dressed every day, having splendid silken stuffs, such as we always found in Italy'.[162]

Luxury textiles were not only imported from Italy - Smith's *Discourse of the Commonweal* singled out cloths from Flanders and France[163] - but they all came to be tied up with notions of identity: to wear foreign cloth called into question one's nationality.[164] Robert Greene's 'A Quip for an Upstart Courtier or a Quaint Dispute Between Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches',[165] closes with the final judgement:

> Velvet breeches is an upstart come out of Italy, begot of Pride, nursed up by selfe-love, and brought into this countrie by his companion newfangleesse, that he is but of late time a faiser of rents, and an enemie in the commonwelth, and one that is not in any way to be preferred in equity before Cloth breeches.[166]

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[161] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, II, p. 381.

[162] Von Bülow, 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania', p. 29.

[163] Smith, *A Discourse of the Commonweal*, p. 64.

[164] Hentschell, 'A Question of Nation', pp. 49-62.

[165] L. Newcomb, 'Greene, Robert', *ODNB*, pp. 577-82. Newcomb describes Greene as 'one of the patronless, proto-bohemian writers later dubbed the university wits' and 'England's first celebrity writer'. *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* was Greene's most reprinted pamphlet, with six editions in 1592 alone.

[166] Hentschell, 'A Question of Nation', p. 61; R. Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier or a Quaint Dispute Between Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches* (London, 1592). In the dedicatory letter to Thomas Barnaby, Greene also stresses that by 'a maintayner of Cloth breeches (I meane, of the olde and worthie customs of the Gentilitie and yeomanrie of England).' It is also interesting to note that the velvet breeches in the discourse are made from 'the cheefest Neapolitane stuffe ... drawne out with the best Spanish satin ... the Neather-stocke was of the purest Grandado Silke', which is illustrative of the way in which supplies

A further threat was the risk that the desirability of these cloths played in encouraging inappropriate expenditure.[167] Within this context the expenditure of monarchy stood apart; it could afford the magnificence of imported textiles and needed to compete on a European stage. The foreign origins of the silks that they bought were not relevant, for no English ruler could array themselves solely in wool.[168] The role of royal licenses in the silk trade also meant that the imports did not necessarily result in the loss of bullion from England because the silks were paid for by offsetting customs duties.

Princes did not only vie with one another through the magnificence of their courts; the costs of war also absorbed a large amount of royal wealth and some of the materials for war, such as armour, weaponry and horses, were other areas of recognized Italian skill, as has been shown by their presentation as gifts. Again, like the textiles, their purchase was not completely novel; Edward II bought horses in Lombardy in 1310,[169] and the great bacinet that was worn by Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold bears the mark that the Missaglia from Milan used in the mid-fifteenth century, which suggests that it was an old piece that was reused (Figs. 64 and 65).[170] However, unlike luxury textiles, the competition from other European production centres, such as Germany, was much stronger, and the arms and armour from Italy that came to England were very much exceptions to the rule. It is notable that Italian horses appear to have been difficult to obtain and remained on the edges of the mercantile sphere, especially when compared to those of Flanders which were bought in relative bulk.[171] The fact that each horse

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of Italian silk to England were diminishing in the late sixteenth century but the form and association of the breeches remained Italian.

[167] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, II, p. 381.

[168] Greene, *A Quip*. In the letter to the 'Gentlemen Readers' Greene stresses that that Clothbreeches 'though he speakes against Velvet breeches which you were, yet hee twits not the weede but the vice, not the apparel when tis worthily worne, but the unworthy person that weares it'.

[169] G. Nosari and F. Canova, *I Cavalli Gonzaga della Raza de la Casa: Allevamenti e Scuderie di Mantova nei secoli XIV – XVII* (Reggiolo, 2005), p. 9.

[170] Rimer et. al., *Henry VIII*, p. 124.

[171] *1547 Inventory*, nos. 8481, 8482, 8483, 8591. In the inventory of the horses in the charge of Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Kings Horses, there are listed 45 'coursers of the kings Majesties', 4 'Coursers of the late Erle of Surrey' and 5 'Barbarie horses', all of which could well have been Italian. By contrast Browne had no 'Flaunders mares' in his care but there were 76 'remayninge in the Races ...

could hold a unique value is attested to by the detailed descriptions written by the Mantuan ambassador of the horses that were used at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.[172] This uniqueness was probably enhanced by the fact that they were not available through the normal merchant intermediaries but were instead brought to England by individuals who had been sent to the princely courts of Italy specifically for the task. In late 1518 Cardinal Campeggio sent a letter to the Marquis of Mantua from England, recommending a Bolognese gentleman and an Englishman who were travelling 'with letters and commissions from the King to bring horses from Italy'; the prompt for this desired purchase was the planned meeting with Francis I 'for which purpose he is making great preparations, and, amongst other things wishes for horses'.[173] This was not the first time that Henry had sent envoys to Italy in search of horses, for, as has already been discussed, Thomas Cheney went to Mantua in 1514.[174] Sir Griffith Don also arrived in Calais early in 1518 with horses from Naples and Turkey, which were perceived to allow Henry to be 'out of danger of any prince for coursers of Naples'.[175] Thus horses, just like textiles, formed part of the European language of power, which would be so overtly displayed at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

Other items that were destined for the English court were also bought directly in Italy. Andrea Badoer reported to the Venetian senate that three gentlemen were being sent 'into Italy' in 1510 'to purchase horse armour, and other military accoutrements'.[176] This could have the advantage of reducing costs; Richard Jerningham wrote to the king in 1513 that he had 'made a bargain at Milan for 5,000 rivets' which 'will thus save his grace 1,000l under the price they could be had at in England'.[177] In general, Italian armour was supplied by merchants working in England, often the same individuals who dealt in silks and smaller items that were sold directly to the court. Much was purchased

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ouer and aboue the forsaid horsecoltes & Fillies Suckers in Wales not yet certefied', which suggests that the Italian horses were reserved for the king's own use, and held enough value to warrant being taken in following the fall of the Earl of Surrey, whilst the horses from Flanders were used more generally.

[172] *CSPV,* III.81, 85, 90.

[173] *CSPV,* II.1104.

[174] ASMn, A.G., b. 2921, L.231, c. 86v.

[175] *L&P,* II.ii.3906.

[176] *CSPV,* II.63.

[177] *L&P,* I.i.3658.

for practical purposes, in general in preparation for conflict with France; for example, in May 1513 the Florentine Guido Portinari was paid £80 for one hundred Milan harnesses, body armour, for footmen.[178] These could be the same 'Briggendines couered with blacke fustian and white lynnen Clothe called Millen Cootes' which were at Westminster at Henry VIII's death.[179] At the same time it must be taken into account that the Italian merchants were also able to supply armour from northern Europe, for whilst Milan was a leading production centre, most of the English nobility bought their armour from Flanders; an indenture was also drawn up for Portinari to supply 2,000 'complete harness called Almayne ryvettes'.[180] Such purchases often required state involvement. In June 1544 the English ambassador requested an export licence from the Venetian Senate for the purchase of 1500 arquebuses, a form of snap matchlock musket, and 1500 armours for infantry and cavalry from Brescia,[181] and similarly in England the customs duty was discharged on 7516 'hackbuts' bought from Christopher Carcano.[182] The 1547 Inventory also lists Venetian cannon at the Tower of London and aboard the *Henry Grace a Dieu*, and 'Italyan peicis' amongst 'thordynaunce artillery and other munycions' at Quinborough on the Isle of Sheppey.[183] The Venetian pieces may well be an example of the way in which the boundary between gifts and commodities could be blurred during the sixteenth century. In 1523 Antonio Suriano wrote to the Venetian Senate describing Henry's 'great wish to have six of the Signory's bronze guns'.[184] During the same period the ambassador was attempting to secure the release of Venetian goods and galleys that had been impounded in England, and thus the Senate replied that they were willing 'to comply with his Majesty's desire, as by so doing they think to gratify themselves'.[185] The Venetians also supplied guns for Wyatt's rebellion, on the pretence that they had been seized, in order to continue their anti-Hapsburg policy, a sale which resulted in Mary requesting the recall of the

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[178] *L&P*, I.ii.2843.

[179] *1547 Inventory*, no. 8198.

[180] *L&P*, I.i.3414.

[181] M. Morin, and R. Held, *Beretta: La dinastia industriale più antica al mondo* (Chiasso, 1980), p. 27.

[182] *L&P*, XXI.i.1536(64).

[183] *1547 Inventory*, nos. 3694, 7218, 4043.

[184] *CSPV*, III.656.

[185] *Ibid.*, III.656.

Fig. 64: Great Bacinet from the Tonlet armour of Henry VIII, Royal Armouries, II.7.

Fig. 65: Great Bacinet from the Tonlet armour of Henry VIII, detail, Royal Armouries, II.7.

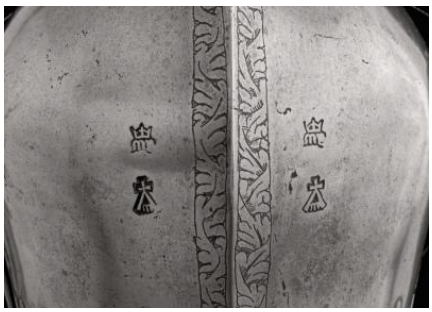

Fig. 66: Halberd Head, probably Italian, second quarter of the 16th century, gilt steel, The Royal Armouries, VII.1717.

Fig. 67: Armour of Henry VIII, Italian, *c*. 1544, blackened, etched and gilt steel, textile and leather, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32. 130. 7 a-l.

ambassador Soranzo.[186] By the 1550s, when the number of resident Italian merchants who were directly supplying the court had decreased, armour was still available on the English market through speculative ventures. A contract in the Milanese archives reveals that Gabriele and Giovanni Sovico and Benedetto de Alemania had come together in May 1552 to purchase items made by armourers such as the Negroli and Panzeri, to sell in London, where Giovanni lived.[187]

Some purchases of Italian arms and armour were related directly to the display of royal magnificence. The Royal Armouries contain surviving examples of some of the staff weapons that were purchased for use by Henry VIII's personal guard: bills, partisans, halberds, pikes, spears and corseques.[188] Many have gilded *pointillé* (punched) decoration which is consistent with the style of staff weapons that were purchased in the early years of Henry's reign from merchants such as Leonardo Frescobaldi.[189] A halberd head decorated with *pointillé* work with a helmeted male head in profile and a double line border was excavated from the bed of the River Thames in 1877 (Fig. 66).[190] These type of items can be found in large numbers in the 1547 Inventory and it is tempting to assume that they were still in use later in the sixteenth century; when Samuel Kiechel, a traveller in England from Ulm, described Elizabeth with her retinue at Hampton Court in 1586, he noted that 'before the Queen marched her bodyguard ... they bore gilt halberds and wore red coats trimmed with black velvet'.[191] Northern Italian armour also formed a crucial element of Henry VIII's competitive display with Francis I. As has been noted the armour that Henry used in his foot combat with Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold included a great bacinet made by the Milanese Missaglia family. Although this armour was assembled at the last moment by the king's armourers

[186] Bartlett, 'The English Exile Community', p. 229; *CSPS*, XI, p. 88. Simon Renard reported to Charles V that 'A Venetian ship came up the river to London, and the captain gave five or six pieces of artillery to Wyatt. It is believed that he did so at the encouragement of the Venetian ambassador. *CSPS*, XI, p. 113. Charles V's instructions were to watch the ambassador but show him 'favourable treatment' and to write to the Doge to ask for his recall.

[187] J.A. Godoy and S. Leydi, *Parures Triomphales: Le Maniérisme dans l'Art de l'Armure Italienne* (Geneva, 2003), p. 557, citing ASM, Notarile 12394.

[188] Rimer et al., *Henry VIII*, pp. 264-71.

[189] *Ibid*., p. 266.

[190] *Ibid*., p. 268.

[191] Von Klarwill, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 322.

because Francis changed the rules of combat, the inclusion of the bacinet, even though it had to be altered, could well have been a further example of the conscious use of Italian material culture in order to demonstrate cultural parity with France, much in the way the Stonyhurst copes were also transported to France. Milanese swords were also taken with Henry to France; the book of expenses kept by the master of Henry's armoury, Sir Edward Guildford, refers to the procurement in Flanders of one thousand 'myllen swerdes for the turney'.[192] Henry VIII commissioned some personal field armour from Northern Italy; for example, there is mention in the Privy Purse expenses of 1530 of a payment made to the Master of the Horse for 'sending for the kings harneys fro Bullayne to Myllayne'.[193] One full suit survives, apart from the alternative set of vambraces which are in the Royal Collection, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 67). This has been linked to an entry in the 1547 inventory:[194] 'one Complete harnesse of Italion making with Lambes blacke and parcel guilte for the feilde lacking greves and Sabbetters'.[195] Certain elements suggest that it was a specific commission: the second pair of vambraces are of a closed design, which was unusual in Italian vambraces but common to those produced in the king's workshop at Greenwich, whilst brass studs on the shoulders of the backplate are shaped into Tudor roses, although these could have been added by armours working in England who made final modifications for the king.[196] The decorative elements, which also incorporate foliage, putti, running dogs and grotesque ornament, have allowed the armour to be associated with a saddle steel, which has similar, but not identical decoration.[197] This could well have been supplied by someone such as Francis Albert 'Millonour' who was licensed by Henry VIII to import into England 'all manner of harness of what making soever they be' as well as silks, furs, and other items,[198] and it was intended for use in Henry's last campaign on French soil.

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[192] Anglo, *Spectacle*, p. 152; TNA, E36/9, f. 13.

[193] Nichols, *The Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 54.

[194] C. Blair and S. Phyrr, 'The Wilton "Montmorency" Armour: An Italian Armour for Henry VIII', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 38 (2003), p. 97.

[195] *1547 Inventory*, no. 8262.

[196] Blair and Phyrr, 'The Wilton "Montmorency" Armour', pp. 98 and 120.

[197] Rimer et al., *Henry VIII*, pp. 198-9.

[198] *L&P*, XIX.i, p. 279.

The systems of credit to which the Italians had access for use in the luxury market also enabled them to act as financiers and agents in the commissioning of specific pieces. The linked issue of their involvement in the recruitment of artisans to work in England will be discussed in the following chapter, but the disparate objects that were obtained provide insight into the element of choice that was exercised by the Tudor monarchs. One such example of the use of these connections to facilitate a commission can be found in Vasari's account of the contents of Benedetto da Maiano's studio, which tantalisingly records the presence of a sketch model of a portrait bust of Henry VII based on a drawing that had been supplied by merchants.[199] It seems that Henry VII generally used these Italian merchant connections as a means to gain practical information. It was in this vein that he chose the Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova as a model for the Savoy Hospital,[200] a foundation that he created in his will. It adopted aspects of the design from the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, founded by Fulco di Rocovero Portinari in 1288, the statutes of which Henry VII had obtained in manuscript copy from Francesco Portinari.[201] Francesco was the son of Tommaso Portinari, the head of the Medici bank in Bruges who had himself been received by the English king during his involvement in the negotiation of the Anglo-Burgundian commercial treaty, the *Intercursus Magnus*, in 1496. The manuscript was lavishly illuminated by Attavante degli Attavanti.

By contrast, on occasion Henry VIII chose to exercise a degree of choice in his purchases that was more than pragmatic. Tapestry was not imported from Italy, but its purchase nonetheless involved Italian financiers because of the costs that were involved. Henry VIII's inventory includes approximately 2,450 tapestry wall hangings, more than 95% of which are lost. The value and importance of this collection to Tudor display has

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[199] Vasari, *Le Vite*, III, p. 339.

[200] Henry VII was not the only ruler to use the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova as a model, see K. Lowe, 'Rainha D. Leonor of Portgual's Patronage in Renaissance Florence and Cultural Exchange', in K. Lowe, ed., *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 2000), p. 230. D. Leonor modelled the statutes for a hospital that she founded on the ordinances of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, a copy of which Cardinal Jorge Costa had obtained in Rome.

[201] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 488. For a discussion and translation of this manuscript see K. Park and J. Henderson, '"The First Hospital Among Christians": The Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence', *Medical History*, 35 (1991), pp. 164-88.

been brought to light by Campbell's research, which has also pieced together large amounts of information regarding the commissioning process. Tapestry incorporating silk cost four times as much as that made from plain wool, and that which included *filé* thread was as much as fifty times more expensive. The centre of production, both in terms of weaving and design, was the Netherlands, but records of tapestry purchases reveal the regular involvement of Italians, such as George Ardisoni, Ludovico de la Fava, Lorenzo Barducci and Giovanni Cavalcanti, acting as financiers to cover the initial costs of creating the piece. Within this context there are two traceable examples of explicitly Italian designs being woven in the Netherlands for Henry VIII: the *Acts* and the *Antiquities* sets, which were amongst the most expensive that the English king acquired.

The 1542 Whitehall inventory lists two pieces of 'Arras of the history of Thacts of thapostles', and a list in the same inventory accounts for the arrival of 'stuff new made by the king highness camaundement' on 3 November 1542, which included 'seven peces of hangings of arras of thacts of the appostells lined thorough with canvas.' A marginal note in the inventory recorded that the tapestries were purchased from John Baptist 'Gualterote', merchant of Florence, in June 1542. They depicted the lives of St Peter and St Paul and were woven from designs by Raphael following a commission by Leo X for the Sistine Chapel. Their design was a departure from the traditional multiple narrative schemes of Netherlandish tapestries and each panel illustrated a specific moment, which occurred within a clearly defined setting. The cartoons had been prepared and dispatched to Brussels in 1516, and the tapestries were made in the workshop of Pieter van Aelst between 1517 and 1521. It may have been through van Aelst that Henry learnt of the tapestries for in May 1520 the Treasury of the Chamber made a payment of £971 5d to Pieter van Aelst for 484 ells of 'arras', which was probably for use at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.[202] What makes this more likely is the fact that the payment was made 'by thandes of John Cavalcaunt', the same merchant who would become involved in Henry's tomb project and who had close links with Leo X's court.[203] However, as the inventory shows, the tapestries for the English king did not come to England until the 1540s. Henry was not alone in ordering a set of the *Acts*

[202] Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, p. 144; TNA, E36/216, p. 180.

[203] *Ibid*., p. 144; TNA, E36/216, p. 180.

Fig. 68: Unknown Brussels workshop after a cartoon by Raphael, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, *c.* 1540-2, wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, current location unidentified, formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Fig. 69: Unidentified Brussels workshop after a cartoon by Raphael, *The Charge to Peter* from Henry VIII's set of the *Acts of the Apostles*, *c*. 1540-2, wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, current location unidentified, formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

tapestries; Francis I, Margaret of Austria and Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga all obtained weavings. Although Henry's set is presumed to have been lost in 1945 in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (Figs. 68 and 69), Campbell has been able to suggest through the use of surviving photographs that variations in the design indicate that Henry's set was the third weaving of the design, after Francis I's, which had been purchased in 1533.[204] Whilst Campbell then goes on to suggest reasons why the iconography of the set could have been attractive to Henry in the 1540s, what is of note to this study is his linking of commission to the work of Niccolò Bellin of Modena, who arrived in England after working at Fontainebleau in 1537.[205] This connection makes the tapestries examples of the mediation of France in the English reception of Italian goods. The set retained their prestige; the Mantuan commentator Schifanoya recorded that they were hung at Westminster during the ceremonies for Elizabeth's coronation,[206] and over one hundred years after their purchase they were esteemed amongst the most expensive of Charles I's possessions, valued at £4429 5s.[207]

The accounts of Sir Anthony Denny, Keeper of Whitehall Palace, record that Gualterotti was paid £2,325 15s 6d for two sets of tapestry, and, closely associated with the *Acts* set in the inventory is another group made up of two 'hangings of Arras of thistory of Antiques' and 'fyve peces of hangings of Arras wrought with Antiques linke throughout with canvas'.[208] This set had been woven to designs attributed by Vasari to Giovanni da Udine, which were commissioned by Leo X at some point in the late 1510s. These were the first tapestries in which grotesque elements formed the entire design and two still survive within The Royal Collection (Figs. 70 and 71). Again their purchase fits into the context of the mannerist stuccowork and slate carving being carried out by Niccolò Bellin during this point at Nonsuch and Whitehall.[209] Unlike the Stonyhurst copes, and other cloths that were specifically woven for the Tudor monarchs, the tapestries were a

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[204] T. Campbell, 'School of Raphael Tapestries in the Collection of Henry VIII', *Burlington Magazine*, 138 (1996), p. 70.

[205] Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, p. 274. Campbell notes the similarity in iconography between the tapestries and Bellin's work at Nonsuch.

[206] Bellorini, 'Da Londra a Mantova', p. 87.

[207] Millar, 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods', p. 5, no. 20.

[208] Campbell, *Henry VIII and the Art of Majesty*, p. 262.

[209] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

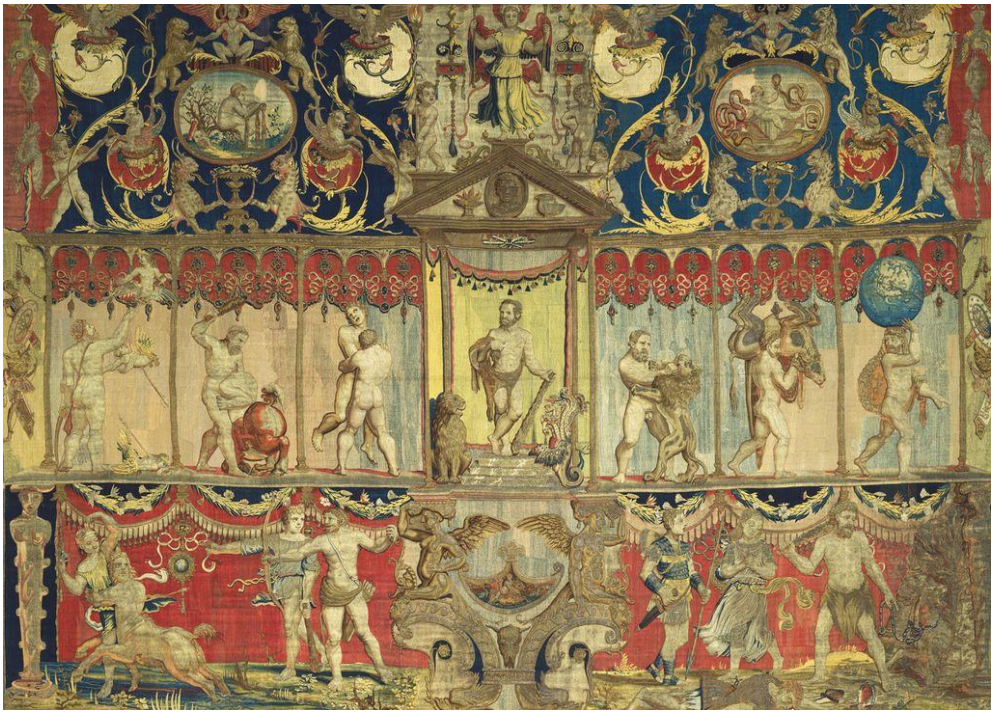

Fig. 70: Unidentified Brussels workshop after a design attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giovanni da Udine, *c*. 1540-42, *The Triumph of Hercules* from Henry VIII's *Antiques* set (now known as the *Triumphs of the Gods*), wool, silk and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, The Royal Collection, RCIN 1363.

Fig. 71: Unidentified Brussels workshop after a design attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni and Giovanni da Udine, *c*. 1540-42, *The Triumph of Bacchus* from Henry VIII's *Antiques* set (now known as the *Triumphs of the Gods*), wool, silk and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, The Royal Collection, RCIN 1362.

far more self-conscious Italian purchase for they included no English elements. This shift appears to be a manifestation of Henry's competition with Francis I; it was during this same period that he apparently did not follow up on the offer of copies of Roman sculptures, possibly due to his inability to reciprocate. By contrast the tapestries offered the opportunity to buy parity of status.

During the reigns of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, Italian merchants do not appear to have facilitated such grand commissions. Although, as has been shown, many small scale Italian items and types of Italian textiles continued to reach England, the ordering of new items to specific designs decreased. As well as the issue of expense this was partly due to the decreasing number of Italian merchants at court: there were fewer individuals available to act as conduits for commissions. The merchants that Elizabeth did use as agents, men such as Horatio Palavicino, Guido Cavalcanti and Benedetto Spinola did not trade in luxury goods in the way that Giovanni Cavalcanti and the Bonvisi had a generation earlier. A possible exception could be the spinet which survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is traditionally associated with Elizabeth (Fig. 72). The forward-facing parts of the case are decorated with red and blue varnishes over a gold ground, leaving a reserved pattern of gold moresques, and the English royal arms are depicted in a panel to the left of the keyboard, whilst the panel on the right has Anne Boleyn's device of a falcon on a stump.[210] It is very similar to the worksmanship of Benedictus Florianus, who was active in Venice in the second half of the sixteenth century, but the keyboard layout is distinctly English.[211] It could well have been a direct commission or a gift from a merchant, occupying the same liminal space between a gift and a purchase as the maiolica and earthenware items that have been discussed earlier. In the late 1570s Elizabeth was refusing to acknowledge the complaints of Venetian merchants who were the victims of English piracy, insisting that she would only negotiate with an accredited ambassador. Thus the facilitation of a commission, or its presentation, could well have been an attempt to secure royal support.

[210] Starkey, *Henry VIII: A European Court*, p. 105.

[211] *Ibid*., p. 105.

Fig. 72: Spinet with the devices of Elizabeth I, 1570-80, probably made by Benedictus Florianus (active about 1565-1575) in Venice, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 19-1887.

Taken together, all of the Tudors' purchases of Italian goods demonstrate the extensive role that such items played in the monarchs' display of magnificence. They could exhibit both the conspicuous use of expensive raw materials and high levels of novelty and technical innovation. They were not purchased in isolation - they shared the space within the palaces with items from across Europe and further afield, and with pieces that were made in England - but the items that circulated in trade formed the bulk of the Italian material culture that was owned by the Tudors. Thus the choice that was exercised in their purchase illustrates the areas of recognized Italian expertise: textiles, armour, and glass. It was this expertise that entrepreneurs sought to bring to England in the form of individuals who could practice their trade and teach English apprentices. Within this context individual commissions that demonstrated a desire to purchase something Italian, rather than simply the most valuable items, were incredibly rare. Henry VIII's grand artistic projects, which will be discussed in the following chapter, were in many ways similar to the Raphael tapestries, their commission related as much to France as to Italy; instead, it was the continuing influx of merchandise that stimulated the English desire to import Italian expertise. Beyond the ornament of the 'Italianate' lay the weaving of examples of Italian material culture into the fabric of everyday life. Often the Italian product was shaped into an English form; whether this related to the designing of glass items by the Venetians that were more likely to appeal to a northern market or to the literal cutting of fabric into English fashions, it illustrated a degree of appropriation of the material culture. On many occasions the next logical step was taken, namely the import of individuals rather than objects: Italians who would create items of material culture in a new setting and thus create something that was arguably not Italian, but English.

Chapter 5

Italians working in England

In his *History of Italy*, William Thomas remarked of Italian artificers that 'for the most part they are the finest workmen and the best inventors of all other'.[1] Accordingly, it was not only items of Italian material culture that were imported into England, but also Italian skills. This migration of skilled workers was of vital importance to the spread of technological innovations,[2] and was stimulated by the granting of royal licences and patents, and by the employment of Italians on royal commissions and within the royal household. However, whilst their recruitment and employment was often deliberate, the stylistic influence of these Italians is difficult to identify with precision. Prints from across Europe disseminated the 'Italianate' in visual terms, and any Italian working in England was usually collaborating with native artisans and others from Northern Europe. It is also rare to find the use of the word 'Italian' as an adjective in descriptions of works made in England, which raises the question of the extent to which any Italian influence was noted by contemporaries. The difficulty of pinpointing stylistic influences arises because the deliberate employment of aliens allowed for an engagement with Italian material culture that was both 'admissive and conditional'.[3] Thus, whilst Italian skills and forms were absorbed into the commissioned work, its final appearance was conditioned by its English context.

The dual nature of the recruitment of Italians - that is for both broader economic reasons and to work directly for the monarch - illustrates the diverse impact and experience that Italians could have when working in England, with a division that could perhaps be considered as the difference between an artisan and an artist. In contrast to the more prominent individuals who worked on royal commissions, such as Pietro Torrigiano, little is known about the lives of the artisans who worked in conjunction with entrepreneurs. This is not to suggest that there was a sharp difference between the

[1] Thomas, *The History*, p. 14.

[2] E. Ashtor, 'The Factors of Technological and Industrial Progress in the Later Middle Ages', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 18.1 (1989), p. 20.

[3] D. Thomson, 'Henry VII and the Uses of Italy: the Savoy Hospital and Henry VII's Posterity', in B. Thompson, ed., *The Reign of Henry VII* (Stamford, 1995), p. 115.

motivations for employing these individuals. In sixteenth-century England the king was the principal patron 'and the king's ideas of his functions as a patron were markedly utilitarian', with no differentiation between painters, or indeed 'artists', and craftsmen.[4] Works were collaborative, and were rarely identified by those who made them. This utilitarian focus is evident in the royal patronage of science in England and has been discussed by Pumfrey and Dawbarn as something that differentiates the English context from that of the courts of continental Europe.[5] Whilst this is not completely true of material culture - for the desire to cultivate magnificence through objects would seem to fall within the parameters of 'ostentatious' patronage[6] - it is notable that it was often technical ability, in areas such as bronze casting, that set the Italians apart from their northern European counterparts. Thus, just as many of the purchases of Italian goods demonstrate a desire to obtain works of technical excellence, rather than in any Italian 'style', the employment of Italians on ostentatious royal commissions, such as the tomb of Henry VII, does not necessarily reveal the desire to transplant visual elements of the Italian Renaissance to English shores.[7]

Italians made up only a small part of the alien artisans who lived and worked in England and this meant that they had to collaborate with native craftsmen and also artisans from northern Europe. This was not unproblematic and the work of Italians in England was often beset by technical issues; English kilns in particular were a problem that faced the producers of works in glass, bronze and terracotta. Italians arrived both singly and in groups, but rarely by a direct route, for England was neither the most prestigious court nor the first choice of refuge. Thus the move to its shores was often a stop or endpoint in an itinerant career that traversed Europe. Benvenuto Cellini's report of Pietro Torrigiano's return to Florence, boasting of his works amongst 'those beasts of

[4] E. Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (London, 1954), p. 1. For a discussion of differentiation between artists and artisans in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy see 'Art Objects' in Syson and Thornton, *Objects of Virtue*, pp. 229-261.

[5] S. Pumfrey and F. Dawbarn, 'Science and Patronage in England, 1570-1625: A Preliminary Study, *History of Science*, 42 (2004), pp. 137-88.

[6] *Ibid*., p. 140. Pumfrey and Dawbarn stress that their study is an attempt to move the study of patronage in science away from the art history model, in which princes and nobles expressed their preoccupation with reputation and honour through their cultural patronage.

[7] J. Pope-Hennessy, 'The Tombs and Monuments', in *Westminster Abbey* (Radnor, Pennsylvania, 1972), p. 215. Pope-Hennessy described the work as 'the finest Renaissance tomb north of the Alps'.

Englishmen',[8] is suggestive of the very real distance that separated England from the Italian peninsula, and it is unsurprising that it was often only once an individual had made it as far as working in the French court, or in the city of Antwerp, that England came to represent a credible opportunity. There was also a contrast between the transient visitors and the individuals who came to England with a desire to settle, and this often had an effect on the material culture that they produced and its reception. The short-term visitors had often been recruited for a specific commission whilst those that remained in England for a long period of time established a more stable presence and could be involved in a broader variety of projects and become more integrated into English society.

The variety of Italian products imported into England, along with the purchase of items from other parts of Europe, often incited the criticism that alien merchants were taking 'the chief and substantial staples of the realm where the people might be better employed in making them'.[9] As a result, proposals to import skills were encouraged. Thus, whilst gifts were tangible signs of personal relationships between Italian individuals and the monarch, the work of Italians in England often reveals the involvement of key advisors such as Cardinal Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell, Edward Seymour and William Cecil, for it was these men who controlled the bureaucracy of trade and migration. The patent system allowed for the incorporation of immigrant workers into the labour force,[10] for in its early years 'the rights of the importer of a new industry were more clearly established than those of the inventor of a new process'.[11] The first example of the use of a patent in England, in the modern understanding of the term, was prompted by an Italian, and, interestingly, related to the design of furnaces.

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[8] G. Ferrero, ed., *Opere di Benvenuto Cellini* (Turin, 1971), pp. 81-2: 'ogni giorno ragionava delle sue bravurie con quelle bestie di quegli Inghilesi'.

[9] R. Tawney and E. Power, eds., *Tudor Economic Documents: Being Select Documents Illustrating the Economic and Social History of Tudor England*, 3 vols. (London, 1921), I, p. 327. An industrial programme of 1559 proposed reviving a statute passed in Edward IV's reign, *SR*, II, Edward IV c. 4, in order to restrict the import of haberdasher's wares.

[10] Harkness, *The Jewel House*, p. 151.

[11] E. Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking 1560-1640* (Oxford, 1975), p. 21. For attempts to regulate the movements of artisans and the development of the patent system see L. Molà, 'Stato e impresa: privilege per lintroduzione di nuove arti e brevetti', in P. Braunstein and L. Molà, eds., *Il Rinsacimento Italiano e l'Europa*, III: Produzione e tecniche (Treviso, 2007), pp. 533-72.

The engineer Iacopo Aconcio petitioned for a patent in 1559 for the manufacture of 'new designs of machines of all sorts that use [water] wheels, and a new design for building furnaces for dyers and those who make beer, and for other uses, with a great saving of fuel'; it was not granted until 1565.[12] However, in general, patents were granted as inducements for the introduction of alien skills - which were not necessarily innovative - and were intended to stimulate or expand a given industry, or they were granted as favours to the influential.[13] Most successful applications for patents specified that English apprentices would be taken on so that the skills would be transferred, but there was often conflict with English guilds; John Leake's 1577 treatise on the cloth industry included the plea that: 'we ought to favour the Strangers from whom we learned so great benefits ... because we are not so good devisers as followers of others'.[14] Many of these proposals had limited success because overall demand was often too low to justify home manufacture, and thus by the end of Elizabeth's reign it was still the case that most luxury goods were imported.[15] Nonetheless, they demonstrate the willingness that existed at the highest levels of the court to embrace Italian expertise.

Since textiles dominated English imports it is unsurprising that various entrepreneurs attempted to stimulate domestic manufacture. Silk weaving was a transferable skill; the movement of a relatively small number of Italian artisans had spread the technique across Europe, developing manufacturing centres in places such as Avignon and Lyon.[16] It is notable that in England the entrepreneurs sought to make a high quality product that

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[12] *CSPD*, 1601-3, Addenda 1547-65, p. 495; *CPR*, 1563-6, 1859; L. White, 'Jacopo Aconcio as an Engineer', *The American Historical Review*, 72.2 (1967), p. 432. White rejects the challenge to this point that can be found in D. Davis, 'Acontius, Champion of Toleration, and the Patent System', *Economic History Review*, 7 (1936), pp. 63-6.

[13] White, 'Jacopo Aconcio', p. 432. Smith, *A Discourse*, p. 124. In England this approach was also associated with Italy, one of the characters in the discourse notes: 'I have heard say in Venice, that most flourishing city at these days of all Europe, if they may hear of any cunning craftsman in any faculty, they will find the means to allure him to dwell in their city; for it is a wonder to see what deal of money one good occupier does bring into a town though he himself do not gain to his own commodity but a poor living'.

[14] Tawney and Power, eds., *Tudor Economic Documents*, III, p. 212.

[15] Guy, *Tudor England* , p. 52.

[16] Molà, *The Silk Industry*, pp. 22-23.

would be sold to the court rather than developing a lower grade product for the broader market, as happened in the Low Countries.[17] English monarchs had on occasion employed individuals to provide a personal supply of cloth of gold and silk; the Italian Geoffrey Damico, who had 'the konnyng and experience of wevyng clothes of damasks, velwettys, cloth of gold, and other clothes of sylk' was set up by royal commandment in a house in Westminster by Edward IV 'for the exercice of the seid myster' and 'ther to have enstructe and enformed other persones in the same konnyng'.[18] This royal appointment, however, did not protect him from the merchants who conspired 'to that ende and entent that he never shuld shewe the seid konnyng in this land', and managed to have him thrown in prison on trumped up charges of debt and trespass.[19] It is interesting to note that these merchants were not Londoners, but 'merchaunts estraungers', and were probably Italians trying to protect their hold over the London market. The dominance of the Italian merchants, and their position at court, could well have dissuaded others from going to England and it was not until the reign of Henry VIII that an attempt was made to set up a colony of weavers in England when the Florentine merchant Antonio Guidotti tried to develop silk weaving in Southampton.[20] A visit to Messina had demonstrated to Guidotti the potential that lay in transplanting silk weaving to new areas and he recruited a Florentine weaver who was working there. This man then recruited other artisans with experience in the working of 'damaskes, satyns, velvetes, crymysen and taffata' and on 24 February 1537 Guidotti embarked twenty-four 'men and woomen practised in the said craft' with their tools and families, on a Ragusan ship bound for Southampton.[21] Guidotti wanted Cromwell to intercede with the king and facilitate the granting of a monopolistic patent for fifteen to twenty years and to provide subsidies in order to recruit six or eight more men, and their families, from Florence, Lucca, Genoa and Venice, 'the cunnyngest men of all Italy'.[22] He also asked Cromwell to write to the mayor of Southampton to support the initiative

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[17] *Ibid*., p. 25.

[18] *Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to Which are Prefixed Examples of Earlier Proceedings in that Court* (London, 1827), I, p. 103.

[19] *Ibid*., I, p. 103.

[20] BL, MS Cotton Vitellius B. xiv, f. 223; G. Schanz, *Englishe Handelspolitik* , 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1881), II, pp. 663-667 for the texts in full with a translation; Molà, *The Silk Industry*, p. 39.

[21] Schanz, *Englishe Handelspolitik*, II, pp. 664, 666.

[22] *Ibid*., p. 665.

because, if successful, the town 'shuld be gretely refreshed'.[23] There is, however, no record of the arrival of the original group from Sicily and it is possible that they were shipwrecked.[24]

Nonetheless, the principle remained sound and in 1559 Richard Springham and Michael Lok presented a plan to Cecil to introduce the manufacture of silks to London by recruiting Italians who were living in Geneva. They proposed to bring over two chief weavers and their families, along with one spinner and one carpenter who would work with raw silk imported from Italy or Spain. Again it was an expensive enterprise and they asked for Cecil to provide tools and accommodation and to provide a monopoly of the trade for eight years, as well as exemption from customs.[25] Of key importance was the fact that they also asked if they could be provided with a church where they could 'preach their Gospel in their Italian tongue' and that they were to be treated as the queen's subjects.[26] Cecil granted them a church with service after the Genevan doctrines and freedom from customs for seven years, on condition that they also employed English people so that the skills would be transferred. However, nothing came of the proposal and it was the mass migration of northern refugees that ultimately was responsible for developing English silk textile production between 1560 and 1620; Luu's research on the origins of silk workers in London shows that in 1571 and 1593 only 2% were Italian, with the vast majority listed as Dutch, Flemish, German or French.[27]

These initiatives, although unsuccessful, are indicative of the way in which the break with Rome did not automatically isolate England from Italian technical developments. For some Italians, as has been seen with the books that were dedicated to Edward VI and Elizabeth, England became a possible refuge. In 1570 Elizabeth received a petition from two maiolica potters, Jasper Andries and Jasper Janssen. The former was the son

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[23] *Ibid*., p. 666.

[24] Molà, *The Silk Industry*, p. 39.

[25] Luu, 'Skills and Innovations', p. 163; TNA, SP12/8, f. 70.

[26] *Ibid*., p. 163. McDermott, 'Lok, Michael', *ODNB*, p. 331. Lok had an interesting later connection to the Italians at court in that he married the widow of Elizabeth's doctor Cesare Adelmare, Margery in 1576 or 1577.

[27] *Ibid*., p. 172, Table 5.5.

of Guido di Savino, who had moved to Antwerp from Castel Durante early in the sixteenth century and taken the name Andries, and whom Henry VIII had tried unsuccessfully to bring to England.[28] Although it is not known what made him move to Antwerp, it is clear from the petition that his son had travelled to England with his colleague in order 'to avoyde persecution and for their consciences sakes'.[29] They appear to have presented some work to Elizabeth and it is notable that they focused on making paving tiles and apothecary jars, rather than the table wares which made up the bulk of Italian production. Nonetheless the influence of such ventures remained limited because they relied on such small numbers of individuals. It was Antwerp that became a centre for maiolica ware because far more individuals travelled to, and remained in, the trading city since most of the artisans who chose to leave Italy did so for economic reasons, rather than religious ones, and thus there was no need to look beyond France and the Netherlands to England.

This is also true of glass production in England. Once again it was Protestant immigrants who provided the impetus for the production of *cristallo* in England, but in a very limited fashion compared to the manufacture of *façon de Venise* glass that spread across Europe.[30] Venetian glass had long been a prized commodity in England and again there was a pattern of individual recruitment under royal patronage, followed by the issuing of patents in order to access a broader market as the sixteenth century progressed. In 1550 the Council of Ten in Venice passed a motion that 'to gratify the most Serene King of England' it would concede that a group of glassmakers from Murano could remain in England until the expiry of their contract with Edward VI, at which point they were to return to Venice immediately.[31] This special concession was necessary because the preceding year an act had been passed in order to protect

[28] T. Wilson, 'Italian Maiolica Around 1500: Some Considerations on the Background to Antwerp Maiolica' in D. Gaimster, ed., *Maiolica in the North: The Archaeology of Tin-Glazed Earthenware in North-West Europe* (London, 1999), pp. 8-9.

[29] BL, MS Lansdowne 12, f. 131; F. Britton, *London Delftware* (London, 1987), p. 20.

[30] Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking 1560-1640*, p. 8. In the early sixteenth century a glass industry to rival Venice developed in the Low Countries as artisans from Murano moved to Antwerp and other cities such as Liège, Namur and Mézières, producing glass known as *façon de Venise* which was so similar to the original product that even an expert could frequently not detect the genuine Venetian object from the copy.

[31] *CSPV*, V.669.

Venetian glass manufacture, both for the sake of local artisans and for the customs revenue that it generated.[32] This act stated that all men, both masters and artisans, who had left Murano to find work were to return within eight months under penalty of a fine and time in the galleys.[33] The group of eight artisans who were covered by the dispensation had pleaded that they had been forced to leave Murano because of the lack of work and so had accepted money to go and work in Flanders and England. They then explained that they had not been able to obey the edict to return to Venice because they had been thrown in the Tower and held on penalty of death until they worked out their contract.[34] Their religion was not recorded, but Venice was notably tolerant, and it is highly likely that the artisans held reforming views that would have made them acceptable to their English employers – namely Somerset on behalf of the young king - and it is possible that they worked at the Belsize furnaces that were founded early in Edward's reign by the Protector.[35] A jug of Venetian lace glass survives in the British Museum with silver-gilt mounts that bears the London hall-marks for 1548-9 which could be an example of their work (Fig. 73).[36] Its form is dissimilar to that usually ascribed to Venetian workshops, but is very common in the pottery of north-west Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and is also known in English silver of the mid-sixteenth century.[37] This may indicate that the artisans were recruited purely for their technical skill and for their adaptability. At the end of their contract it seems that the workers returned to Murano, leaving behind only Giuseppe Cassilari, who remained in London until 1569 with a colleague from Antwerp named Thomaso Cavoto.[38]

[32] *CSPV*, V.574.

[33] *CSPV*, V.578.

[34] *CSPV*, V.648.

[35] Gasparetto, 'Le relazioni fra Venezia e l'Inghilterra', p. 16.

[36] Tait, *The Golden Age*, p. 65.

[37] *Ibid*., p. 65.

[38]Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 53.

Fig. 73: Jug of Venetian lace glass, mounted in silver-gilt which bears hallmarks for 1548/9, British Museum AF.3133.

Fig. 74: The Burghley Tankard, glass mounted in silver-gilt, embossed and chased featuring Lord Burghley's crest, *c*. 1575, British Museum AF.3134.

Fig. 75: Glass with mould-blown stem, diamond-point engraving and an inscription 'God Save Qyne Elisabeth', accompanied by the date 1586 and the initials RP and MP which probably relate to its original owners, Victoria & Albert Museum C.266-1983.

Only a few years after the Muranese group's departure another Venetian glassworker, Jacopo Verzelini, arrived in England.[39] He is first recorded as working with Jean Carré, who came to England from Arras via Antwerp, 'for reasons of religion',[40] and had obtained a license to build glass furnaces in 1567.[41] There was a clear differentiation in the licensing between the manufacture of glass for glazing and green-glass, both of which were specialities of France, and the manufacture of higher quality crystal glass, which was usually made in small quantities in Italy.[42] A letter from Carré states that he had erected two glass houses in Sussex for Normandy and Lorraine glass and one in London for crystal glass and closes with a plea for the sole patent rights.[43] Carré's London furnace was built in the hall of the Crutched Friars, which was available following the dissolution of the monasteries. Here he employed two Venetians, 'Quiobyne Littery' and Verzelini, having first worked with Flemings.[44] By November 1571 there were twelve Italians living at Carré's house in Broad street, six of whom had arrived that June, including Domenico Cassilari, who may have been a relation of the Giuseppe Cassilari who had come to England over twenty years earlier.[45] Two years after Carré's death Verzelini obtained the patent that granted a monopoly 'to make drinking and other glasses like those made at Morano near Venice', something that Carré had never managed to obtain.[46] The Burghley tankard could possibly have been a test piece that Verzelini gave to Cecil with the application for the patent (Fig. 74).[47] The tube of glass has silver-gilt mounts that are embossed and chased and feature Lord Burghley's crest, and the form imitates a rock crystal tankard, allowing the *cristallo* to demonstrate the aptness of its name and to show its adaptability to English forms.[48]

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[39] Scouloudi, 'Returns of Strangers', p. 216. In the return of 1593 Jacob Vasselin is listed as having 'dwelt in England 40 years'.

[40] Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, II, p, 39.

[41] *CPR*, 1566-1569, p. 146.

[42] D.W. Crossley, 'The Performance of the Glass Industry in Sixteenth-Century England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 25 (1972), pp. 428-9.

[43] *CSPD*, Addenda 1566-1579, p. 34.

[44] Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking*, p. 25.

[45] Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, pp. 39-40.

[46] *CPR*, 1572-1575, 3209.

[47] Tait, *The Golden Age*, p. 56.

[48] *Ibid*., p. 56.

Verzelini remained in England until his death in 1606, becoming a denizen in 1576.[49] He also brought more craftsmen to England from Murano; the 1593 Return of Aliens lists that he had eight Italian servants from Murano: Zatario Brunoro, Satario Moro, Agustin Corona, Vinzenzo Filiot, Domengo Dimanoli, Marcas Fingano, Jerolimo Fero and Baptista Sorte.[50]

The pieces that came from Verzelini's furnace may have used Venetian techniques but they were not typically Venetian in design. For example, Verzelini also worked with the French engraver Anthony de Lysle, who decorated many of the pieces with diamond point engraving (Fig. 75). His patent protected Verzelini from competition and in 1581 he successfully petitioned against Sebastian Orlandini who, having set himself up to made beads and enamels, which were not covered by the patent, moved to London and started to make glass.[51] Verzelini's patent also included a ban on imports, which illustrates the extent to which the project was supported by the state because it was 'to the commodity of the common weal, since great sums of money have passed beyond seas for that manner of ware',[52] but Verzelini only once invoked his rights against this.[53] The next person to hold the patent, Sir Jerome Bowes, did enforce his rights, and a Debate on Monopolies in the House of Commons in 1601 stressed how the patent had resulted in an increase in the cost of glass and a loss to the customs revenue.[54] The extent to which the process had passed out of Italian hands can be seen by the fact that in 1592 Bowes, who was not a glassmaker but had been the Queen's ambassador to Russia, was granted the patent to make *cristallo* which became effective on the expiry of Verzelini's in 1595.[55] By 1598 both of Verzelini's sons were in jail having challenged the new patent, and Bowes had erected his own furnace on the site of the old Blackfriars monastery, although it is not known how many Italian artisans he

[49] *CPR*, 1575-1578, 1715. James Verselyne, subject of the duke of Venice was granted denization 26 November 1576.

[50] Scouloudi, 'Returns of Strangers', p. 216.

[51] Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 55; Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking*, p. 32; *APC,*XII, pp. 336-7.

[52] *CPR*, 1572-1575, 3209.

[53] Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 55.

[54] *Ibid*., p. 61; Tawney and Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*, II, p. 281.

[55] *CSPD*, 1591-1594, p. 179.

employed.[56] Nonetheless, manufacture of glass remained closely associated with Italians. In Edward Sharpham's comedy, *The Fleire*, published in 1607, one character, the English Knight, makes a fool of himself by assuming that if Fleire is Italian he must be able to make glasses.[57]

Manufacturing glass, however, carried some risks. Holinshed's *Chronicle* recorded how Verzelini's furnace burnt down on 4 September 1575 and that 'the same house in a small time before had consumed great quantitie of wood by making of fine drinking glasses; now it selfe having within it neere fortie thousand billets of wood were all consumed to the stone walls'.[58] This was after it had been reported that Verzelini had had to rebuild his furnace twice because it would not get hot enough to liquefy the glass.[59] This report from the minute book of the Consistory of the Italian Protestant church in London offers a fascinating insight into the problems faced by individuals who were attempting to manufacture new products in England. Verzelini is mentioned within the context of a silk dyer, Gasparo de' Gatti, who had turned to the services of a witch from Rochester in order to remove a curse from his dying equipment.[60] Giuseppe Lupo, the son of the musician Ambrose Lupo, testified that Gatti had got the idea from Verzelini's wife, whilst Antonio Giustiniani recalled a conversation with Gatti in which he recounted that Verzelini had used the same woman to lift a curse from his furnace.[61]

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[56] Charleston, *English Glass*, p. 61.

[57] Hoenselaars, *Images of Englishmen*, p. 121; E. Sharpham, *The Fleire* (London, 1607). In the First Act Signior Antifront is disguised as Fleire, and in discussion with the Knight:

> Knight: What nation art?
>
> Fleire: An Italian.
>
> Knight: O then thou canst make glasses.
>
> Fleire: I, and as wisemen as you Asses too.

[58] Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, IV, p. 329.

[59] Firpo, 'La Chiesa Italiana', pp. 375-7; BL, MS Add. 48096, f. 37.

[60] BL, MS Add. 48096, f. 35. 26 December 1573, 'Fu chiamato et comparse in Consistoro Gasparo de Gatti tinto di sete al qual fu rimostro ch'el Concistoro ora advertito ch'esso Gasparo pensandosi che la caldaia de la sua tintura fussi incantata haveva mandato a Rocester a una Donna che fa professione di sciorre tal malie affin di disincantare detta sua caldaia et tintura'.

[61] Firpo, 'La Chiesa Italiana', pp. 376-7; BL, MS Add. 48096, f. 37: 'Jacometto che fa fare la fornate di bichieri in questa citta non havendo secondo il solito potuto liquefare il vetro et havendo per due volte rifatto la sua fornace guidicho ancor egli ch'ella fussi incantata, per il che mando a Rochestre a una certa donna la quale gli fece dire ch'la sua furnace era incantata'.

It is notable that in the Returns of Aliens of 1582-3 Verzelini is listed as attending the English Church.[62]

Ultimately, attempts to manufacture Italian products on English shores were too isolated to provide a genuine counterweight to the import of luxury goods, particularly when they were making products that were in direct competition with the interests of merchants. However, this relative isolation was less of an issue when it came to the execution of royal commissions. As has been seen with the glassmakers from Murano who came to England in the middle of the century, and the import licenses that were granted to Italian merchants, working directly for the Crown provided a means of bypassing certain regulations. The use of Italians in royal commissions shared a similar goal to the entrepreneurs who brought Italians to England to develop new industries – the desire to import technical expertise - and it is within the context of royal employment that the work of Italians in England has been most closely studied.[63] As with the involvement of the Great Wardrobe in the purchasing of items for the Tudor monarchs, the importance of the Office of Works makes it difficult to analyse the level of direct monarchical involvement in commissions. The Office of Works was the traditional structure of patent artisans, such as the Master Mason, Chief Smith and King's Painter, which was responsible for the execution and maintenance of the royal buildings. It must also be stressed that there is 'no necessary correlation between the employment of Italians and the adoption of Italian methods' for 'men paid by the Crown did as they were told'.[64] It is notable, however, that most of the Italians employed by the Tudor monarchs 'moved from one royal commission to another, but without achieving any recognised status within the framework of the King's Works';[65] they often also worked for the Revels. This flexibility implies that they may have had more freedom and have reported more directly to the monarch. There are also suggestions in the documentary evidence of the level to which individuals were

[62] Kirk and Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, II, p. 304

[63] Colvin, *The History*, III and IV; Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*.

[64] Colvin, *The History*, IV, p. 393.

[65] *Ibid*., III, pp. 44. The two notable exceptions to this are Antonio (Toto) del Nunziata who became Serjeant Painter in 1544 and John of Padua who was noted as the King's 'devisor of buildings'.

integrated into the Royal Household. For example, some were granted livery,[66] or presented gifts at New Year.[67]

It is within the setting of royal patronage that the most famous piece of Italian workmanship in England – the tomb of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey – must be placed. As it stands now within the Lady Chapel it appears to be an isolated record of the adoption of aspects of Italian art in England, with its acanthus leaves and *putti* standing out in stylistic contrast to the fan vaulting and the gothic screen that surrounds it (Figs. 76 and 77). Such was the success of this monument that in many ways it distorted broader analysis of English art of the period into 'a vain search for Italian standards'.[68] This has only been compounded by the fact that the tomb is a very rare survival. Much of the work of Italians was lost with the renovation and sale of the royal palaces,[69] whilst their contributions to court life, which included designing such ephemera as pennants,[70] and the temporary buildings that housed the ostentatious displays of diplomacy,[71] were only ever intended to be transient displays of splendour. The tomb itself, and the other surviving works by Italian sculptors in England – chiefly Guido Mazzoni, Benedetto da Rovezzano and Giovanni da Maiano - have been intensively studied and thus will be discussed here in relation to the aspects that illuminate broader questions about the employment of Italians in England, rather than as individual projects.[72] Such questions include the means by which Italians were recruited

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[66] Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 174. In November 1531 payment was made to 'Antony Tote and bartilmew penne for ther lyveray cotes'. For the careers of Toto and Penni in England see below.

[67] See Chapter 3.

[68] N. Llewellyn, 'The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, For the Living', in L. Gent and N. Llewellyn, eds., *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540-1660* (London, 1990), p. 219.

[69] M. Biddle, 'The Stuccoes of Nonsuch', *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), pp. 411-7.

[70] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, p. 190. Payments to Vincenzo Volpe include for the painting of streamers.

[71] Many thanks to Kent Rawlinson for sharing his forthcoming chapter '*Hall's Chronicle* and the Greenwich Triumphs of 1527' which outlines Giovanni da Maiano's role in the preparations for the triumphs, which included design work and sculpted busts.

[72] For survey discussions of the Italian sculptors who worked in England see Higgins, 'On the work of Florentine Sculptors', pp. 129-220; Colvin, *The History*, III, pp. 210-222; A. Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiano and his sculpture for the Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey' PhD Thesis (New York University, 1980); P. Lindley, *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England* (Stamford, 1995); K.. Rawlinson, '"Such Other Conquerors": The Terracotta Roundels or "Antique Heads" of Giovanni da Maiano (1520-1532) (Forthcoming).

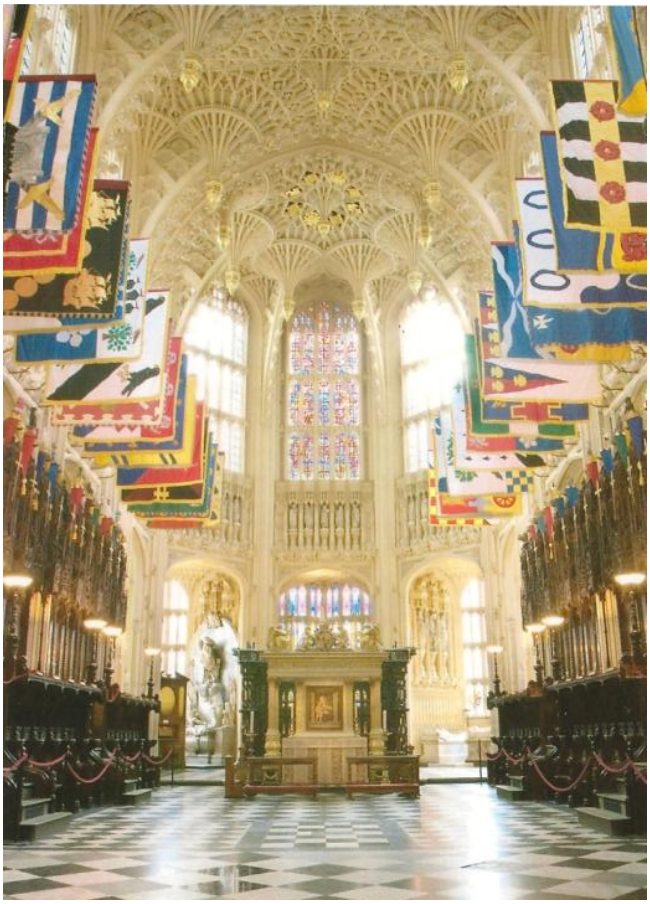

Fig. 76: Interior of the Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London.

Fig. 77: Pietro Torrigiano, Tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, gilt-bronze and marble, Westminster Abbey, London.

to work in England, and the extent to which any elements of the completed works were identified as Italian by contemporaries, as well as the level of personal involvement of the monarch in commissioning the work of Italians in England. The tomb projects also illustrate the technical difficulties that these individuals encountered in trying to make new types of object in England, which is symptomatic of the importance of technical skill as an element in their recruitment. Analysis of this can be carried forward into the role that Italians played in Tudor portrait sculpture and military engineering.

The earliest Tudor plan to utilise Italians on a project in England - the first proposal for Henry VII's tomb - can be viewed as another example of Anglo-French cultural competition through Italian patronage, acting in a similar way to the horses from Naples and Mantua that were exchanged at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and Henry VIII's purchase of the *Acts* and *Antiquities* tapestries. It was designed by the Modenese sculptor Guido Mazzoni and is now known only from an estimate of the costs dated to 1506.[73] Mazzoni was working in France during this period; he had been recruited from Naples by Charles VIII following the French invasion in 1494 after moving from Modena to the Aragonese court, probably as a result of the patronage of Eleonora d'Aragona, the wife of Ercole d' Este, Duke of Ferrara.[74] However, nothing survives of his work in France - where he was known as 'messir Paguenin'[75] because he had taken the name of his uncle Paganino[76] - and his greatest commission, Charles VIII's tomb at St Denis, was destroyed during the French Revolution. His design for Henry VII appears to have been a radical departure from traditional English tombs and to have incorporated three life size figures: *gisant*, reclining, figures of Henry and his wife, and a *priant*, kneeling, figure of the king on the top of the tomb, which possibly echoed the sculptor's tomb for Charles VIII (Fig. 78).[77]

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[73] TNA, SP/1/1, f. 94; Higgins, 'On the Work of Florentine Sculptors', pp. 137-138. The manuscript contains an alternative estimate by 'Drawswerd, Sheriff of Yorke,' for the making of the wooden 'patterns' for the figures, and Thomas Drawswerd was Sheriff of York in 1506-7.

[74] G. Bonsanti and F. Piccinini, *Emozioni in Terracotta: Guido Mazzoni / Antonio Bergarelli Scultore del Rinascimento Emiliano* (Modena, 2009), p. 43.

[75] B. Hochstetler Meyer, 'The First Tomb of Henry VII of England', *The Art Bulletin*, 58.3 (1976), p. 360.

[76] Bonsanti and Piccinini, *Emozioni in Terracotta*, p. 261: 'Guido Mazzoni, qui chiamato Paganino come lo zio nella cui casa era cresciuto'.

[77] Hochstetler Meyer, 'The First Tomb of Henry VII of England', pp. 358-367.

Fig. 78: Attributed to Guido Mazzoni, Tomb of Charles VIII of France, once in St. Denis, drawing, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough Drawings-Gaignières, 2, f. 48r.

Fig. 79: Guido Mazzoni, *Laughing child, possibly Henry VIII*, *c*. 1498, painted and gilded terracotta, The Royal Collection, RCIN 73197.

A payment from the Treasurer of the Chamber in February of that year of £10 to 'Master Panyne that werks abowte the king's towmbe' suggests that Mazzoni did come to England at some point, but there are no further mentions of him after the spring of 1507.[78] In his absence the project seems to have stalled but the *priant* figure that Henry VII planned to have placed on the shrine of Edward the Confessor may have originated in Mazzoni's design.[79] It is not known exactly how Mazzoni came to work on Henry VII's tomb, but his employment is presumed to have arisen from some form of personal contact with the English monarch and thus to have enabled him to execute a polychrome terracotta bust of a laughing boy, which has been identified as a young Henry VIII (Fig. 79).[80] There is no documentary evidence for the attribution of this work to Mazzoni, but it has been made on the basis of the royal provenance, the age of the sitter and the technical excellence of the execution of the work; the clay is at most 5 mm thick and the boy's open mouth, ears and nostrils allowed steam to escape during firing.[81] The use of a piece-mould enabled the formation of such thin, even walls, which ensured that the delicate details were not lost during expansion and contraction of the clay during firing in the kiln.[82] Mazzoni's tomb design was ultimately not executed - a note on the payment from the Treasurer of the Chamber relating to the design states that it 'was afterward Disliked by King Henry VIII'[83] - but his employment in England raises the issue as to whether he was recruited as a sculptor who worked in the Italian style, or instead as a craftsmen who would allow Henry VII to gain cultural parity with Louis XII by patronising the same artist. The comparison with France was certainly something that came naturally to commentators. At the end of the sixteenth century one German visitor to the Abbey looked to France when seeking to describe the final, executed, version of Henry VII's tomb; Hieronymus Turler wrote how it 'hath in it also

[78] Colvin, *The History*, III, p. 220.

[79] Astle, *The Will*, pp. 4-5. This contains instructions for the execution of his tomb, which was to be situated in the centre of the Lady Chapel and included a gilt image to be made of himself kneeling in armour and holding a crown, which was to be placed on top of the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and to be of such a size that it would be clearly visible.

[80] H. Dow, 'Two Italian Portrait-Busts of Henry VIII', *The Art Bulletin*, 42. (1960), pp. 291-4.

[81] J. Larson, 'A Polychrome Terracotta Bust of a Laughing Child at Windsor Castle', *Burlington Magazine*, 131 (1989), pp. 618-24; Bosanti and Piccinini, *Emozioni in terracotta*, p. 44.

[82] Larson, 'A Polychrome Terracotta Bust', p. 620.

[83] Colvin, *The History*, III, p. 220.

many turned and carved pillers, and very lyke unto this are the monuments of the Kinges of Fraunce in Sainct Denise church'.[84]

Mazzoni was not the only Italian to reach England by way of France. It seems likely, although it is not documented, that the Florentine painter Bartolommeo Penni also came by this route. He was from a family of artists; one of his brothers, Giovan Francesco was a pupil of Raphael, whilst another, Luca, worked at Fontainebleu. It is this latter connection which suggests why Bartolommeo may have decided to go to England; Vasari confused Bartolommeo with his brother and stated that it was Luca who went to England.[85] In 1530 Bartolommeo received an annuity,[86] and he was made a denizen in 1541.[87] It is possible that he was responsible for some of the works that are now conserved, in a heavily altered form, in the Wolsey Closet at Hampton Court (Fig. 80). *The Flagellation* is very similar to a work depicting the same subject in Santa Prassede in Rome, which has been attributed to Bartolomeo's brother, Giovan Francesco Penni.[88]

Penni's possible route to England is supported by the fact that it is known that at least one Italian who worked with Primaticcio at Fontainebleu did travel to England: the Modenese sculptor Niccolò Bellin, who came to England in 1537, having been forced to flee the court of Francis I, and remained for the rest of his life.[89] Bellin played a key role in designing decorative elements of Henry VIII's palaces and brought the skills that were being used in the Mannerist decoration of Fontainebleau to England. A design in the Louvre survives for an interior programme of panelling and stucco work which has been attributed to the Italian (Fig. 81). It incorporates the image of a woman's crowned head rising from a large Tudor Rose. This was the heraldic badge of Katherine Parr, and thus can be dated to between 1543 when she married Henry and the king's death in

[84] Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners*, p. 84.

[85] Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV, 647. However, that this is a mistake on Vasari's part is suggested by the fact that there is no documentary record of Luca Penni in England, but many references to Bartolommeo.

[86] *L&P*, V, p. 319.

[87] Page, 'Letters of Denization', p. 189.

[88] S. Padovani, 'Un quadretto Raffaellesco nella Galleria di Palazzo Pitti a Firenze: una proposta per Giovan Francesco Penni', *Arte Cristiana*, 843 (2007), p. 424.

[89] *L&P*, XVI.37. In September 1540 Francis I wrote to the French ambassador Marillac in England demanding 'a subject and servant named Modena, who should be confronted with the president Gentils upon certain malversations he has made'.

Fig. 80: The Wolsey Closet, nineteenth-century reconstruction using sixteenth-century elements, Hampton Court Palace.

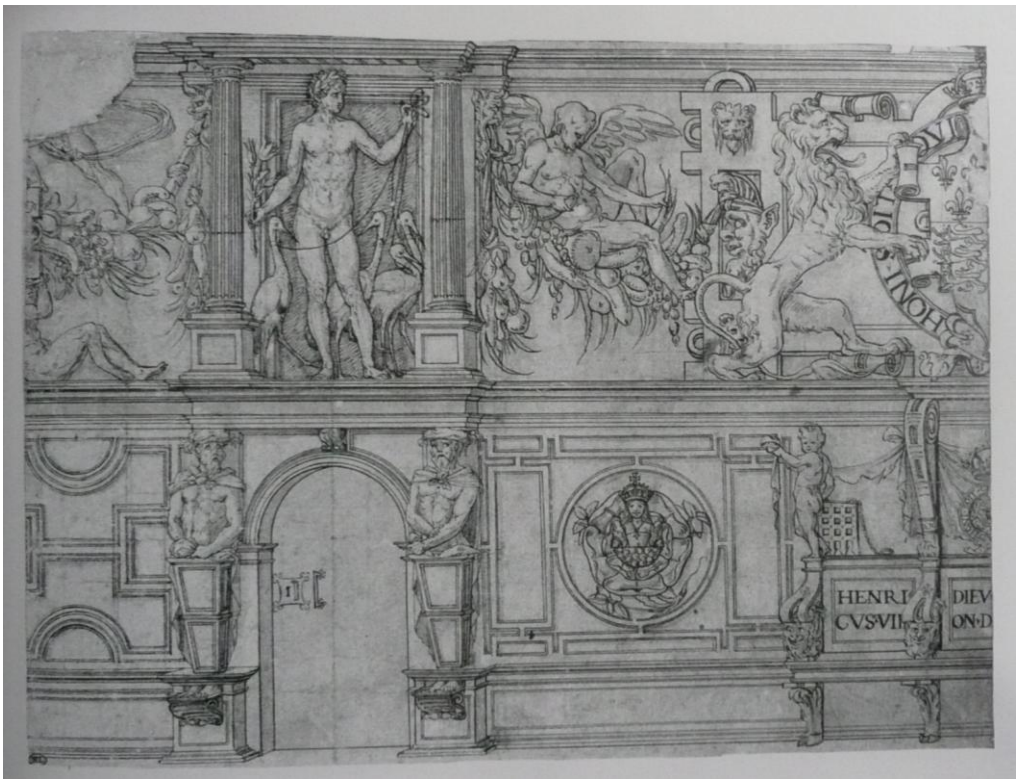

Fig. 81: Niccoló Bellin of Modena, attributed to, *Design for an Interior*, pen and ink, *c.* 1545, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

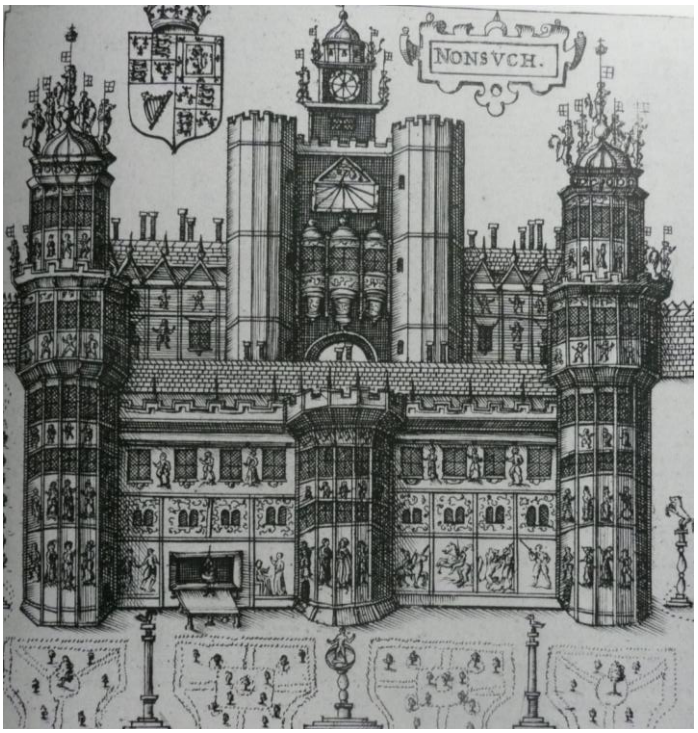

Fig. 82: John Speed, Nonsuch Palace, from his map of Surrey, (London, 1610), detail from plate 44.

Fig. 83: *A description of M. Latimer preaching before K. Edward the 6,* woodcut from John Foxe, *The Ecclesiasticall Historie, conteining the Arts and Monuments of Martyrs* (London, 1583), II, p. 1739.

1547.[90] Some of Bellin's designs were executed and Sir John Wallop, the English ambassador in France, suggested that Henry VIII look at a chimney that the Italian had designed in order to get a sense of the 'antique' decoration at Fontainebleau.[91] This interaction between the English ambassador in France and the king is illustrative of the way in which Henry VIII used the Italian sculptor to continue his personal competition with the French king. Francis I had demanded Bellin's extradition, but, after initially assisting,[92] Henry insisted that he was 'not bound to deliver him, as he is not a French subject but born in the duchy of Milan, being in the Emperor's hands', and then added 'that when the French king should be duke of Milan, he would be ready to observe the treaties'.[93] However, it must be added that this was not simply a matter of cultural competition because the issue of Bellin's extradition was closely linked with Francis' refusal to hand over a prisoner that the English wished to have sent to England on the grounds that he was a French subject and born in France.[94] This reveals a notable level of personal involvement by the king, which may also have been manifest in Bellin's commissions.

Bellin worked on the decorative programme of stucco panels at Nonsuch palace, which was built to celebrate the birth of Prince Edward. The accounts reveal that the stuccoes were actually carried out by Kendall and Giles Geringe, but Bellin was the only artificer that had any experience working in the medium so it is likely that he was responsible for the designs and passed on his skills to northern and local artificers.[95] The palace is now lost, but some impression of the exterior decoration can be gained from an illustration in Speed's Map of Surrey and from Hoefnagel's watercolour (Figs. 82 and 10). It remained impressive enough for John Evelyn to remark in 1666 on the 'Plaster Statues & *Bassrelievos* inserted twixt the timbers & *poincons* of the outside walles of the Court, which must needs have been the work of some excellent *Italian*'.[96] Bellin also worked on architectural commissions and was provided with equipment, such as a

[90] O. Kurz, 'An Architectural Design for Henry VIII', *Burlington Magazine*, 82 (1943), pp. 81-3.

[91] TNA, SP1/163, f. 228.

[92] *L&P*, XVI.115.

[93] *L&P*, XVI.168.

[94] *L&P*, XVI.182.

[95] Biddle, 'The Stuccoes of Nonsuch', p. 417.

[96] J. Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, E. De Beer, ed., 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), III, pp. 426-7.

ranging line, during the construction of the banqueting house at Whitehall.[97] It is possible that he executed the Preaching Place at Whitehall in which Latimer is depicted preaching to Edward VI in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (Fig. 83).[98] He certainly continued to work for Edward, designing the masques and temporary entertainments that celebrated the young king's investiture into the French chivalric order of St. Michael; on that occasion he was provided with damask, velvet and satin for a gown, coat and doublet.[99] Bellin's other key role was in executing portrait sculpture, which will be discussed below.

Italians sometimes reached England through deliberate recruitment by Italian merchants already working in London. Antonio Guidotti, in his proposal to introduce silk weavers to Southampton, also offered to Cromwell that 'if it may please you to have a coonyng palace-maker after the manner of Italy or for gardynes or a painter, I have commoditie to serve your desire with such, as ye never had in those parties'.[100] It was probably by this route that the most famous of all the Italians to work on Tudor commissions reached England: Pietro Torrigiano. The exact date of the sculptor's arrival in England is unknown but Vasari relates that he was brought to England by merchants,[101] and this appears to be corroborated by the way in which his projects were financed and the means by which he lived in London. Just as they were able to facilitate the commissioning of items in Italy, such as Benedetto da Maiano's portrait bust of Henry VII, the merchants who circulated at the English court were able to bring individuals to work in England. Torrigiano could have been in England as early as 1507;[102] however, the earliest contract that survives for his work in England is dated 23 November

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[97] M. Biddle, 'Nicholas Bellin of Modena: An Italian Artificer at the Courts of Francis I and Henry VIII', *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, 29 (1966), p. 113.

[98] Colvin, *The History*, IV, p. 313.

[99] Biddle, 'Nicholas Bellin', p. 116; *APC New Series*, III, p. 314.

[100] Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*,, II, p. 666.

[101] Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV, p. 260.

[102] Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiano and his Sculpture', Document 11. The document records the payment in Bruges in 1510 to Torrigiano of 30 gold philippusgulden from Margaret of Austria after he had repaired the broken neck or a bust (or statue) of Mary Tudor. This bust was most likely made in 1507 when Mary was engaged to Charles of Castile, the future Charles V, and it is possible that Torrigiano was employed because he had made the original work.

1511.[103] This was for Lady Margaret Beaufort's tomb in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey, and the work was guaranteed by Leonardo Frescobaldi and Giovanni Cavalcanti.[104] The ledgers of the Cavalcanti and Bardi company reveal that the artist was also residing in Pierfrancesco de Piero Bardi's house.[105] It is interesting to speculate whether these contacts had any influence on Torrigiano's work, for the pillow that supports Lady Margaret Beaufort's head is designed to resemble cloth of gold woven with the Beaufort portcullis, just like the cloths that the Cavalcanti and Bardi company were having woven in Florence for Henry VIII (Figs. 84 and 85). Torrigiano's close connection with merchants continued throughout his time in England; the contract for the High Altar reveals that three Lucchese merchants: 'Benedyk Morovelli', 'John Baptist Morvelli' and 'John Campua', entered into a bond of 2000 marks for the performance of the contract and agreed to advance Torrigiano the money in instalments as the work progressed.[106] Torrigiano himself was well aware of the usefulness of the merchants in supplying ready money for the completion of such projects. When soliciting Wolsey for a commission from the king, he suggested that he would accept payment in the form of bonds from Florentine merchants who would then be bound to repay certain sums to the king,[107] and the draft indenture for Henry VIII's tomb shows that 'John Francis' and 'Reyner' de Bardi and Giovanni Cavalcanti were involved in financing the project.[108] The extent to which the merchants felt responsible for Torrigiano's work can be seen in a letter that was written by Rinaldo de' Ricasoli, the consul of the Florentine nation in London, to the Signoria on 18 June 1519. The sculptor had left England without permission and without commencing work on the high altar in the Lady Chapel, work for which he had already received some promissory

[103] R. Scott, 'On the Contracts for the Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort', *Archaeologia*, 66 (1915), pp. 365-76.

[104] *Ibid*., p. 368.

[105] A. Darr, 'New Documents for Pietro Torrigiani and Other Early Cinquecento Florentine Sculptors Active in Italy and England', *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana* (Munich, 1992), p. 123.

[106] Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiano and his Sculpture', p. 244.

[107] Higgins, 'On the Work of Florentine Sculptors', p. 142; BL, MS Cotton, Titus B.vii, f. 324.

[108] W. Illingworth, 'Transcript of a Draft of an Indenture of Covenants for the Erecting of a Tomb to the Memory of King Henry the Eighth, and Queen Katherine his Wife', *Archaeologia*, 16 (1812), p. 87.

Fig. 84: Pietro Torrigiano, *Tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort*, gilt bronze, Westminster Abbey, London.

Fig. 85: Pietro Torrigiano, *Tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort*, detail, gilt bronze, Westminster Abbey, London.

notes. Ricasoli was understandably concerned that this would reflect badly on the Florentines in London,[109] and this could have triggered the process for the commissioning of the alternate tomb designs in Italy, which was organised by Giovanni Cavalcanti.[110]

It is likely that the merchants encouraged Torrigiano's quick return to England. During his time in Florence Torrigiano sought out individuals who would join him in working for Henry VIII.[111] It was on this trip that he almost persuaded Cellini to come to England, prompting the disclosure in Cellini's biography of the most famous anecdote about Torrigiano – that when he was young he had broken Michelangelo's nose in an argument over whose skill was greater in drawing Masaccio's figures in the Brancacci Chapel - which resulted in Cellini's refusal to go to England.[112] However, three men did choose to bind themselves to work with Torrigiano for four and a half years: Antonio di Piergiovanni di Lorenzo, Giovanni Luigi di Bernardino di Maestro Jacopo da Verona and Antonio del Nunziata, who was known as Toto.[113] It was this last individual who was the most significant, for he chose to remain in England. Vasari noted that he was a pupil of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, and was taken to England by merchants and worked in an architectural capacity.[114] It is not clear whether he worked out the duration of his contract with Torrigiano, or whether he first worked for Wolsey and entered royal employment following the Cardinal's fall, because the first surviving record of his

[109] Higgins, 'On the Work of Florentine Sculptors', p. 143.

[110] See Chapter 2.

[111] B. Cellini, *Opere*, G. Ferrero, ed. (Turin, 1971), p. 82. Cellini reported that Torrigiano told him 'Io son venuto a Firenze per levare più giovani che io posso; ché, avendo a fare una grande opera al mio Re, voglio, per aiuto, de' mia Fiorentini'.

[112] *Ibid*., p. 82.

[113] Higgins, 'On the Work', p. 145.

[114] Vasari, *Le Vite*, VI, p. 543 and V, p. 590: 'e con alcuni mercanti Fiorentini condottosi in Inghilterra, quivi ha fatto tutte l'opere sue; e dal re di quella provincial, il quale ha anco servitor nell'architettura e fatto particolarmente il principale palazzo, è stato riconosciuto grandissimamente'. For a general account of Toto's career in England see Foister, 'Holbein, Antonio Toto, and the Market for Italian Painting in Early Tudor England', pp. 281-306.

Figs. 86 and 87: Attributed to Antonio Toto del Nunziata, grotesque panels, oil on canvas, *c*. 1543, Loseley Park, Surrey.

employment in the royal accounts was the granting of an annuity in 1530.[115] He was employed within the Office of Works, and, after becoming a denizen in 1538, he eventually rose to the office of Serjeant Painter in 1544.[116] His personal interaction with the Tudor monarchs is indicated by his presentation of paintings as gifts at New Year, and his status is shown by his receipt of red and black livery cloth at Edward VI's coronation and funeral.[117] Most of Toto's work is lost. *All'antica* painted panels that survive at Loseley House, and which may have come from Nonsuch Palace, *c*. 1543-4, have been attributed to him (Figs. 86 and 87), [118] and they exemplify the type of grotesque work that had spread across Europe following the discovery of Nero's *Domus Aurea* in Rome. It is also possible that he was responsible for some of the paintings which survive in the Wolsey Closet at Hampton Court, for he was paid for five paintings in the royal library and four in the king's closet in November 1530, and his name often appears in accounts in association with Bartolommeo Penni.[119] Warrants for payment illustrate his involvement in a wide variety of projects, including repairing the king's paintings, painting and gilding 'antique heads' brought from Greenwich to Hanworth, and making items for Jane Seymour's funeral.[120] He retained his association with the Florentine merchants and executed works for Giovanni Cavalcanti's London house.[121] The Florentine merchant Bartolomeo Compagni, whose daughter was to marry Elizabeth's language teacher, also acted as his deputy when Toto received a license to export 600 tons of beer.[122]

Torrigiano's work in England provides an interesting case study for exploring the purpose of recruiting an Italian: in particular the balance between innovative design and technical expertise that could be revealed both in the finished piece and in the way that

[115] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, Appendix 2(a).

[116] *Ibid*., p.55; Page, 'Letters of Denization', p. 233; *L&P*, XIX.i.80(43).

[117] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, pp. 78-9.

[118] B. Grosvenor, *Lost Faces: Identity and Discovery in Tudor Royal Portraiture* (London, 2007), p. 77-78.

[119] TNA, E36/241, pp. 106, 113. These were all of religious subject matter, such as depictions of Joachim and St. Anne, and the four evangelists.

[120] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, pp. 17, 56.

[121] Sicca, 'Consumption and the Trade of Art', p. 177; ASF, Venturi Ginori Lisci 462, unnumbered folio, 10.07.1523: Payment to Toto for painting 'spalliere ... sula loggetta del giardino'.

[122] TNA, C1/972, f. 42; Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, p. 55.

it was perceived. Whilst Llewellyn's research into English funeral monuments has shown that 'Italian and other classical forms' became more prevalent during the sixteenth century,[123] this does not necessarily suggest that the motivation for hiring Torrigiano was in order to have a monument that incorporated such forms. It seems undeniable that Torrigiano's first commission sought simply to exploit his skills. The contract for Lady Margaret Beaufort's tomb included considerable amounts of detail listing pillars, bases, finials, orbs and escutcheons engraved with portcullises and roses, all to be made of copper (Fig. 84),[124] and stated that all the work was to be 'according to A patron drawen in a Cloth'.[125] A payment of November 1511 to the painter Maynard Wewick in part payment 'for a certen table and ij patrones drawen for my ladie the kynges grandamm tombe', suggests that Torrigiano was not responsible for the entire design.[126] Furthermore, there was no precedent in Italian monuments in bronze for the inclusion of elements of polychromy,[127] which is indicative of the way in which the work was set firmly within the context of earlier English tomb designs. However, Torrigiano's technical expertise in carving the marble and casting the bronze appears to have earned him more stylistic freedom; the draft indenture of 1518 for Henry VIII's tomb, which includes information on the contract for Henry VII's tomb, suggests that Torrigiano was fully responsible for the latter's design.[128] Thus the elimination of polychromy and the incorporation of grotesques and acanthus leaves suggest that the newer stylistic elements had been well received. As a free standing tomb chest placed within a chapel, it is possible that the design was directly influenced by Antonio Pollaiouolo's tomb of Sixtus IV in Rome that was completed in 1493 (Fig. 88),[129] which

[123] N. Llewellyn, '"Plinie is a Weyghtye Witnesse": The Classical Reference in Post-Reformation Funeral Monuments', in L. Gent, ed., *Albion's Classicism*, p. 147.

[124] Scott, 'On the Contracts', p. 366.

[125] *Ibid*., p. 366.

[126] *Ibid*., p. 371.

[127] Pope-Hennessy, 'The Tombs and Monuments', p. 215.

[128] Illingworth, 'Transcript of a Draft of an Indenture', p. 84.

[129] Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiano and his Sculpture', p. 205. Both tombs occupy the central position in a large chapel that is dedicated to the Virgin, within a church dedicated to St Peter, and both include portraits of rulers that face the altar. For a discussion of this tomb see A. Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome* (New Haven and London, 2005), pp. 359-87.

Fig. 88: Antonio Pollaiuolo, Tomb of Sixtus IV, bronze, 1493, Sacristry Museum of St. Peter's, Rome.

Fig. 89: The High Altar of Henry VII's Chapel by Torrigiano, from F. Sandford's *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England* (London, 1677), p. 471.

the sculptor could have seen whilst working on the Torre Borgia.[130] The use of *cavetto* moulding of white marble allowed the top slab, the size of which was conditioned by the size of the effigies according to English tradition, to be united with the main body of the tomb, which is larger;[131] a technique that can be seen on a far grander scale on Sixtus IV's tomb. However, ultimately the tomb as executed is not an object that is completely culturally disassociated from its setting. The articulation and height of the tomb remained English, unlike the low-level tomb in Rome, and it accorded relatively closely to the plans in Henry VII's will, although the images of saints were paired in medallions within the wreaths instead of placed in individual tabernacles.[132] Most importantly, in terms of the overall impression of the tomb, it still lay within the grate that had been commissioned from a 'Dutch' smith called Thomas, which meant that it remained relatively obscured.[133]

The trend towards what could be considered a more overt Italian style continued with the commission for the high altar which introduced a further mix of materials to the abbey setting: not only black and white marble, but also terracotta. Although it was destroyed in the seventeenth century its design is known through the contract, some surviving fragments, and an illustration in Sandford's *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England* (Fig. 89). The angels on the canopy were of terracotta 'bakid in an oven after the colour of white marble', which suggests an effect like the glazes of the Della Robbia, and there was also a 'bakyn image of erthe coloured of Christ dede' that was to be laid beneath the altar, and at the back a dossal of two bronze bas-reliefs, one depicting the Resurrection, and the other at the back showing the Nativity.[134] Nonetheless, English elements remained; a crowned royal shield flanked by a lion and a dragon stood where there would normally be a cross or an image of the Christ child.[135]

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[130] Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV, p. 260. Milanesi suggests that between 1493 and 1494 Torrigiano was working on stucco in the Torre Borgia.

[131] Higgins, 'On the Work', p. 135.

[132] Astle, *The Will*, p. 4.

[133] Colvin, *The History*, III, p. 219.

[134] E. Brayley and J. Neale, eds., *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster: Including Notices and Biographical Memoirs of the Abbots and Deans of that Foundation*, 2 vols. (London, 1818-23), I, ii, p. 58.

[135] Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiano and his Sculpture', p. 260.

The extent to which this more Italian style was indicative of a conscious engagement with Italian art on the part of the commissioners, can in part be understood from the wording of the contracts and descriptions of the tombs. Although Torrigiano's Florentine origin was referred to, that appears to have been the only reference to Italy. None of the surviving contracts use the word 'Italian' or even 'romayne' or 'antique', whilst the only detail included to describe Torrigiano's tomb for Henry VIII's, which admittedly comes from only a draft indenture, was that it 'shalbe more grettir by the iiijth parte than ys the said Tombe which the same Petre before made & fynysshed for the same Kyng Henry the vijth'.[136] Later commentators tended to focus on the cost of the Henry VII tomb; the Venetian secretary in 1603, Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, described it as 'a small structure of such richness and beauty that even a hundred years ago it cost sixty thousand pounds',[137] and whilst Stow's *Survey of London* does mention that it was made by 'one *Peter* painter of Florence', the only other information given is that he received £1000 for it.[138] It appears that the tomb was regarded as an impressive display of authority within an English context; it successfully memorialised Henry VII, not as a usurper, but as rightful king, and was thus the greatest tomb set within the other royal tombs at the abbey. As a result there was little room for mention of Italy.

It is also difficult to establish the level of direct royal involvement in these commissions. Executors, such as Thomas Lovell, Bishop John Fisher and Dr Young, played a direct role in the commissioning of the Torrigiano tombs. The contracts for the work did stipulate that models of the designs were to be made, and there are payments for the transport of these to court, just as occurred with the tomb models that were sent from Italy.[139] The possibility remains that they could have been presented for Henry VIII's personal approval, but they may have only been made for the paymasters at court to keep control over the commission. A few years later it was Wolsey who was the driving force behind the first proposed tomb for Henry VIII; the draft indenture was

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[136] Illingworth, 'Transcript of a Draft of an Indenture', p. 85.

[137] *CSPV,* X, 36.

[138] J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908) II, p. 107.

[139] Scott, 'On the Contracts for the Tomb', p. 367. The tomb was to be made 'according to a patrone drawen and kerven in Tymbre and signed with thand and sealed with the seale of the said Petir'; Illingworth, 'Transcript of a Draft of an Indenture', p. 86. Peter shall also 'make or cause to be made an patrone or an example of the same Tomb'.

discovered amongst his papers and stated that 'the tombe was to be after such manner and form as may be ordered and assigned by the most Rev'end ffader in god Thomas of the holy churche of Rome of the title of Saint Cicile beyond Tybre Prest Cardynall and Archbishop of Yorke'.[140] This also included the unusual provision that on its completion Henry could decide its final location, which suggests that the young king was only to become more involved in the final stages.[141] This fits into the context of Henry's approach to building in the early part of his reign and it was only after Wolsey's fall that his interest in architecture became more proactive.[142] It was also through Wolsey that Henry was able to utilise the Florentines Giovanni da Maiano and Benedetto da Rovezzano when the cardinal's tomb was taken over by the king. Rovezzano was called upon to draw up an inventory of the work that had been undertaken for Wolsey's tomb, and the items that were to be removed because of their personal reference to Wolsey and which would allow the design to be transformed into a royal monument by the addition of items such as the sword of state and sceptre.[143]

Unlike the Italians recruited from France, who offered the possibility for direct cultural competition with the French court, it seems likely that the other Italians were recruited for their technical skills. Torrigiano's return to Florence was triggered by his need for assistants to take on the multimedia project of the high altar in the Lady Chapel, which he had been commissioned to complete following his work on Henry VII's tomb.[144] During this earlier project, and that of executing the tomb of Margaret Beaufort, Torrigiano had likely been working with local and northern craftsmen, even travelling to the Netherlands to recruit a gilder.[145] This was not uncommon; the estimate for Mazzoni's design reveals the extent of collaboration that was necessary, with a group of English and Netherlandish artisans working 'after the manner of the mouldings of the

[140] Illingworth, 'Transcript of a Draft of an Indenture', p. 86.

[141] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[142] Thurley, *The Royal Palaces*, p. 40.

[143] Higgins, 'On the Work', p. 182; *L&P,* IV.ii. 5113.

[144] Higgins, 'On the Work', p. 141.

[145] Darr, 'New Documents', p. 123.

patrone which master Pageny hathe made'.[146] Torrigiano was probably responsible for most of the marble carving on the tombs, and for the casting of the hands and faces of the effigies, but he adopted English casting techniques, using almost pure copper instead of the Italian method that used about 88% copper in conjunction with other metals such as zinc and lead.[147] Nonetheless, the levels of technical skill amongst his northern assistants may well have been unsatisfactory; in the Henry VII tomb, casting flaws are evident on the gilt-bronze roundels, and the seated angels required a large amount of cold chiselling, mistakes which could have prompted him to try to recruit other Italians.[148] The execution of the altar certainly demanded a range of skills with its mix of glazed and unglazed terracotta with bronze pieces. The difficulties that Torrigiano could have faced in making each element are suggested by analysis of a surviving portrait bust by the artist of Henry VII in the Victoria and Albert museum (Fig. 96).[149] Traces of transparent, green fired glaze have been found on the left sleeve and the base of the bust, beneath the polychromy. The most likely explanation for these glazed areas is that they were accidental drips from the kiln in which the bust was fired and this suggests that it may have been fired together with domestic pottery.[150] Further

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[146] *L&P*, I, 307. Amongst the craftsmen listed are 'Lawrence Ymbar, carver', 'Humphrey Walker, the founder', 'Nicholas Ewen, copper-smith and gilder', 'John Bell and John Maynard, painters', 'Robert Vertue, Robert Jenyns, and John Lobons, the King's three master masons'.

[147] Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiano and his Sculpture', p. 180.

[148] A. Darr, 'From Westminster Abbey to the Wallace Collection: Torrigiano's Head of Christ', *Apollo* 116 (1982), p. 295. Lindley, *Gothic to Renaissance*, p. 48, n. 8. The term gilt-bronze is the most widely used in the literature, it does not necessarily that the metal is a copper-tin alloy.

[149] The purpose of this bust is unknown. It is associated with two other terracotta busts that are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. For a survey of the literature on these busts see C. Galvin and P. Lindley, 'Pietro Torrigiano's Portrait Bust of King Henry VII', *Burlington Magazine,* 130 (1988), p. 892. The busts have been identified as Bishop John Fisher and Henry VIII, and Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiano', p. 286, goes on to suggest that Fisher might have commissioned busts of himself, Henry VII and Henry VIII as a trial for the artist before awarding him the commission of Lady Margaret Beaufort's tomb. However, C. Beard's doubts about the identity of the Henry VIII bust, on the grounds that the sitter's cloak once featured an 'HR' badge, see C. Beard, 'Torrigiano or da Maiano', *Connoisseur,* 84 (1929), p. 82 are supported by Pierfrancesco di Piero Bardi's 1527 letter to Giovanni Cavalcanti's which noted that 'a king is never happy to wear fabrics woven with his badges and devices', see Chapter 4. The busts are currently catalogued as An Unknown Ecclesiastic and An Unknown Man.

[150] Galvin and Lindley, 'Pietro Torrigiano's Portrait Bust', p. 895.

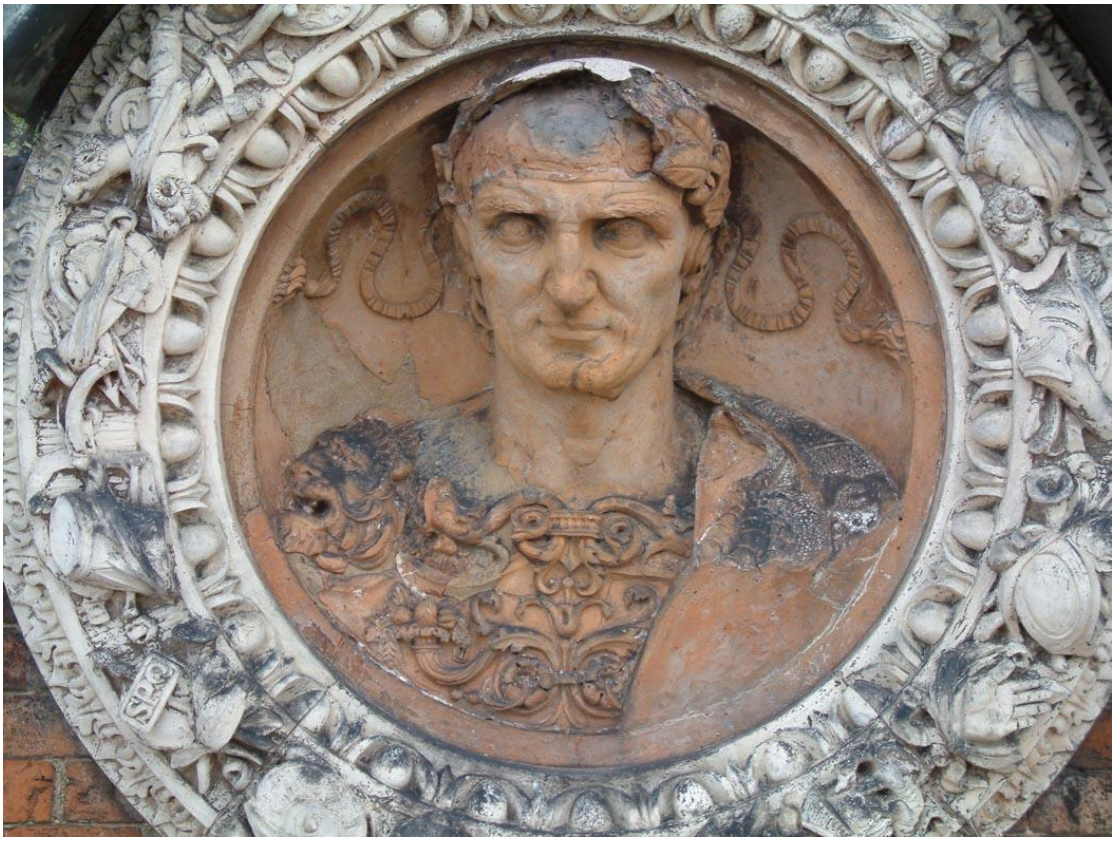

Fig. 90: Giovanni da Maiano, *Tiberius*, terracotta, *c.*1520, Hampton Court Palace.

Figs. 91 and 92: Plaster cast of Candelabrum, *c.* 1865, after an original by Benedetto da Rovezzano, 1530-6, Bronze, Church of St Bavo, Ghent, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1865-47.

difficulties of using English kilns are exemplified by Giovanni da Maiano's terracotta roundels at Hampton Court, where the grey area that has been revealed beneath the fired skin on *Tiberius* suggests that the kiln did not reach a high enough temperature (Fig. 90).[151] Even with extra Italians the altar proved problematic to execute, but it nonetheless remained under Italian supervision following Torrigiano's departure for Spain, which was possibly triggered by Charles V's visit to England in 1522. Benedetto da Rovezzano took over and improved the columns for the altar, because they had been unable to bear the weight of the marble baldacchino.[152] Accounts reveal that he had various Italians working with him, including the sculptor Giovanni da Maiano,[153] the founders Tomaso Chote, Giovanni Utrin and Pietro Baldi and the engineers Rinieri and Ambrogio, as well as two men known to be Florentines: Tommaso and Niccolò.[154] Payments to Rovezzano continue until 1536,[155] when he returned to Florence. It seems that the difficulties of working in England exacted a heavy toll; Vasari reported that he quickly went blind and stated that it could have been a consequence of his work in the forges of England.[156]

The Henry VIII tomb project was later taken up by Bellin[157] and Giovanni Portinari,[158] and in 1599 Thomas Platter described how he had seen the completed parts of the tomb in a chapel at Windsor:

> The pillars made of brass are all very graceful, and eight angels likewise of brass overlaid with gilt. In the centre is a stone of black marble, it is one of the very

[151] Many thanks to Kent Rawlinson for access to the results from an ongoing project to research and conserve the terracotta roundels at Hampton Court.

[152] Darr, 'Pietro Torrigiano and His Sculpture', p. 246; *L&P* IV.ii.5113.

[153] *L&P,* XI.381, 516.

[154] Higgins, 'On the Work', pp. 184-5.

[155] *L&P,* XI.381, 516.

[156] Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV, pp. 535-6: 'le vertigini che insino in Inghilterra gli avevano cominciato a dar noia agli occhi, ed altri impedimenti causati, come si disse, dallo star troppo intorno al fuoco a fondere i metalli, o pure da alter cagione, gli levarano in puoco tempo del tutto il liume degli occhi'.

[157] Colvin, *The History*, III, p. 310. In 1551 Bellin worked on the tomb.

[158] *Ibid*., p. 320. Giovanni Portinari took over the tomb work from Benedetto da Rovezzano and continued in his employment under Edward VI.

> finest tombs that I have seen; if only it were finished and complete! It is rumoured that the queen may use the said figures for her tomb.[159]

Elizabeth did instigate a commission to investigate the costs of finishing,[160] but nothing came of this, and in 1646 the surviving bronze work was sold;[161] four of the candlesticks can be found at St. Bavo's Cathedral in Ghent (Figs. 91 and 92). The touchstone sarcophagus remained and was eventually used for Nelson's memorial in the crypt at St. Paul's (Fig. 93). Thus the enormous project ultimately left only a very small trace in England of the Italian skills in bronze casting and carving which had so influenced its commission and execution.

Possibly the main legacy of these tomb projects was their initiation of Italian dominance over sculpted portraiture in England during the Tudor period. As has been seen, Mazzoni may well have executed a portrait bust of the young Henry VIII, and Henry VII had looked to Florence for a sculpted portrait, although Benedetto da Maiano's bust never left the studio.[162] However, it is with Torrigiano's work on the tombs of Margaret Beaufort and Henry VII that the developments that had taken place in Italian sculpted portraiture were first demonstrated in England. One of the key features that distinguished Torrigiano's work from earlier English tombs was the expressiveness of the faces and hands of the effigies. Both Margaret Beaufort's and Henry VII's features were likely taken from death masks, as can be seen by the contrast between the king's image and the more idealised portrait of Elizabeth of York (Fig. 94). The terracotta bust of Henry VII bears a very close resemblance to his surviving effigy, and various measurements on each piece correspond almost exactly (Figs. 95 and 96).[163] The effigy was borne on top of the casket at the king's funeral, dressed in rich clothing.[164] If, as the similarity with the bust suggests, it was made by Torrigiano, it seems probable that he

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[159] Williams, *Thomas Platter's Travels*, p. 209.

[160] BL, MS Lansdowne 116, ff. 49-50.

[161] Higgins, 'On the Work', pp. 217-219.

[162] Vasari, *Le Vite*, III, p. 339.

[163] Galvin and Lindley, 'Pietro Torrigiano's Portrait Bust', pp. 892-902.

[164] TNA, LC2/1, f. 97; W.H. St. John Hope, *On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1907). Thomas Mountey was paid 6l 6s for purple satin for a gown for the king's 'pycture'.

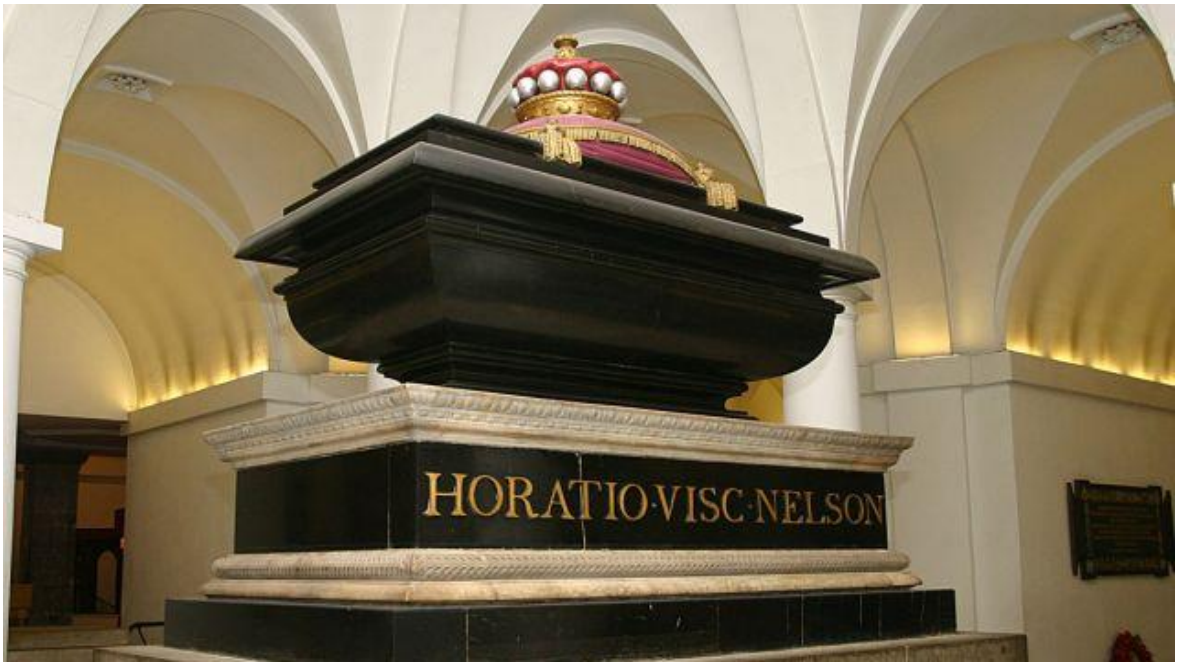

Fig. 93: Tomb of Lord Nelson, touchstone, St. Paul's Cathedral.

Fig. 94: Pietro Torrigiano, Tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, detail, gilt bronze, Westminster Abbey.

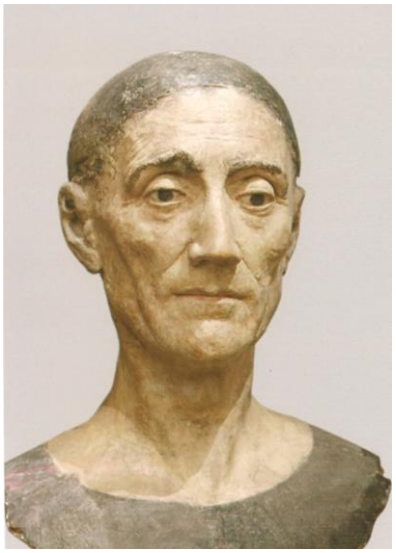

Fig. 95: Pietro Torrigiano, Funeral effigy of Henry VII, 1509, painted plaster, Westminster Abbey.

Fig. 96: Pietro Torrigiano, *Henry VII*, 1509-1511, painted terracotta, Victoria and Albert Museum, A.49-1935.

Fig. 97: Funeral effigy of Elizabeth of York, painted wood, Westminster Abbey.

Fig. 98: Funeral effigy of Mary I, painted plaster, Westminster Abbey.

also made the death mask from which the effigy was taken. Margaret Beaufort died soon after her son on 29 June 1509, so Torrigiano could have made her mask as well because Henry VII's funeral had only taken place the month before. The high level of skill involved in the execution of Henry's effigy is particularly evident when it is compared to that of his wife, who had died in 1503 (Fig. 97). The Italian's skill lay not only in taking more detailed masks but also in being able to refine the portrait before casting it in bronze; the images on the tomb and the bust are not sunken in death but elegant images of royal power with open eyes. The making of royal effigies remained in Italian hands until Elizabeth's reign – Bellin made the effigies of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and possibly Mary's as well.[165] Bellin's skill in plasterwork, as evinced by his design of the stucco for Nonsuch palace, meant that he would have been easily capable of such a job. This is supported by the fact that on at least two occasions he chose to give sculpted portraits as a gift at New Year.[166] The Lord Chamberlain's accounts do not mention the making of Henry VIII's effigy, but the fact that it was made by an Italian was reported back to the court of the Gonzaga in Mantua, and a contemporary description of the funeral gives some impression of the overall effect: 'the picture was made veray like unto the Kinges Majesties person both in stature favowre forme and apparel the which was laid a long uppon the Cophyn with twoo greate Cussyns under his head'.[167] Bellin's involvement in making Mary's effigy is suggested by the fact that the head, although much restored, is made of plaster (Fig. 98).[168] It is, however, of a much lower quality than the Henry VII effigy, and given Bellin's prominent work at Nonsuch it seems unlikely that he was responsible for its execution. It, therefore, could have been made by one of the English artisans who had also worked in stucco at Nonsuch. Nonetheless a bill for Bellin's work on a tomb in Barking refers to him as 'image graver to the Quenes majestie' in 1559,[169] which suggests that he still had a role in executing portrait sculpture.

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[165] Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, p. 178; TNA, L.C.2/4(1), ff. 21, 25. 1553 Payment for the effigy of Edward VI and heraldic painting for the king's funeral.

[166] Nichols, 'Notices of the Contemporaries', p. 37; London, BL Harley Roll 18.

[167] Luzio, *L'Archivio Gonzaga*, p, 122; St. John Hope, *On the Funeral Effigies*, p. 24.

[168] A. Harvey and R. Mortimer, eds., *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Bury St Edmonds, 1994), p. 56.

[169] M. Biddle, 'Nicholas Bellin', p. 117.

Whilst portrait painters such as Hans Holbein, William Scrots, Anthonis Mor, Hans Eworth, and Nicholas Hilliard - and numerous other less well known individuals from England and the Low Countries - clearly dominated the production of images of the Tudor monarchs, the Italian skill in portrait sculpture played a key role in the broader dissemination of the Tudor royal image: through coins, medals and cameos. In 1527 the Mantuan ambassador in Venice forwarded a message to Federico Gonzaga from Bishop Gambara which stated that Wolsey so admired the coinage of the Dukes of Ferrara that he wished to recruit a skilled artist to work in the English Mint.[170] This request was most likely linked to Wolsey's re-organisation of the coinage in 1526, which he had been ordered to do in an attempt to stop the importation of coins from France and the Low Countries.[171] This re-organisation resulted in the casting of a new dies. Up until that point, the profile image of Henry VII that was found on silver shillings had simply been adapted for the new reign by the addition of an extra numeral.[172] The circuitous nature of the request gives some impression of the difficulty involved in enticing Italians to the English court; Gambara had already searched unsuccessfully in Rome, and ultimately nothing came of it. Nearly thirty years later the Tudor monarch was more successful in getting an Italian to design English coinage, because by that point Mary I had access to Italian artists through her marriage to Philip II. In 1544 Jacopo da Trezzo, who Vasari praised for his skill in taking portraits from life,[173] executed a portrait medal of Mary (Fig. 99). Da Trezzo had moved from Milan, which was then under Hapsburg control, to the imperial court at Brussels. This portrait, with an image on the reverse of Peace setting fire to arms, may have been based on Mor's painting (Fig. 100) - the queen wears the same clothing and jewels - but it is possible that the two artists were granted a joint sitting.[174] Only two gold specimens of the medal survive; they were

[170] ASMn, A.G. 1461.

[171] J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, 2 vols. (London, 1960), I, p. 12.

[172] *Ibid*., Plate II.

[173] Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, p. 388: 'il gran re Filippo cattolico di Spagna lo tenga appresso di sè con premiallo ed onorallo per le virtù sue nello intaglio in cavo e di rilievo della medesima professione, che non ha pari per far ritratti di naturale'.

[174] P. Attwood, *Italian Medals c.1530-1600 in British Public Collections*, 2 vols. (London, 2003), I, p. 119.

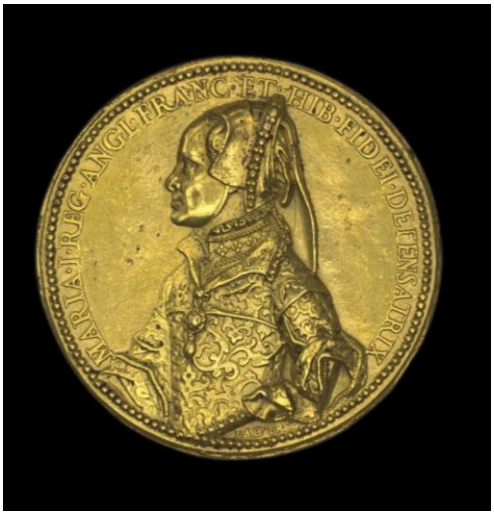

Fig. 99: Jacopo da Trezzo, *Mary I*, cast and chased gold, 1554, British Museum, 1927-6-22-1.

Fig. 100: Anthonis Mor, *Mary I*, detail, oil on panel, 1554, Museo del Prado, Madrid, P02108.

Fig. 101: Shilling, silver, 1554, British Museum, E.278.


IL SACRO ET DIVINO
SPONSALITIO
DEL GRAN PHILIPPO D'AVSTRIA
ET DELLA SACRA MARIA
REGINA D'INGHILTERRA,
Con la vnione & obedienza data alla catholica
Chiesa; sedente sommo Pontefice
GIVLIO III.
Dedicato All' Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Signore
IL S. DVCA D'ALBA.
Fabricato in ottaua Rima per
L'Albicante Fantbondo.
IN MILANO, DAI MOSCHENI.
M. D. LV.

Fig. 102: Giovanni Alberto Albicante, frontispiece of *Il sacro et divino sponsalitio* (Milan, 1555).

Fig. 103: Jacopo da Trezzo, attributed to, *Philip II*, sardonyx cameo, second half of the sixteenth century, eighteenth century mount, The Royal Collection, RCIN 65201.

Fig. 104: *Elizabeth I*, sardonyx cameo, *c*. 1575-85, early eighteenth century mount, The Royal Collection, RCIN 65186.

Fig. 105: Federico Zuccaro, *Elizabeth I*, 1575, black and red chalk, British Museum, Gg, 1.417.

Fig. 106: Federico Zuccaro, *Robert Dudley*, black and red chalk, British Museum, Gg, 1.418.

finely chased after casting and may have been intended for Philip, Mary or Charles V. This commission had a lasting impact on the presentation of Mary's image, because, as da Trezzo reported in a letter to Granvelle, who had been involved in the negotiations for the marriage, he was also asked to make the dies for the new English coinage.[175] He seems to have been able to carry this out, for the portraits of Mary and Philip on shillings minted from 1554 are very similar to da Trezzo's medals (Fig. 101).[176] These coins, and other castings of the medal in different materials,[177] circulated in Europe and it is notable that the legacy of the image can be found in printed portraits of Mary. For example, in 1555 Giovanni Alberto Albicante published a poem to celebrate Mary's marriage which utilises da Trezzo's image (Fig. 102).

An alternate medium for portrait sculpture was in the form of gem-engraving. A cameo of Philip II in the Royal Collection has been attributed to Jacopo da Trezzo (Fig. 103).[178] This has a provenance that can be traced to Charles I's collection: Van der Doort's catalogue describes an 'Aggatt stoane of king Phillipp of Spaine the head being white, the breast brownish and the ground transparent like to a glasse', and beside it Van der Doort noted that it had been given to Charles I in 1637.[179] This could have been made in England by da Trezzo, or at least be associated with Philip's time as King Consort.[180] Portrait cameos of Elizabeth appear to have been incredibly popular in England, and were often presented by the queen as gifts. The number that survive, albeit of varying quality, suggest that there must have been a court workshop set up expressly to undertake such work.[181] There is no record that any of the individuals executing this carving in England were Italian - it is very likely that many were French – but,

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[175] *Ibid*., p. 113. Da Trezzo wrote from London in 1554 that he had been asked 'di far tutte le stampe de questo regno'.

[176] *Ibid*., p. 113.

[177] *Ibid*., p. 113. Da Trezzo's letter to Granvelle also states that he was sending him a silver casting of the medal and that he was making one for Mary of Hungary.

[178] Aschengreen Piacenti and Boardman, *Ancient and Modern Gems and Jewels*, p. 136.

[179] O. Millar, 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', *The Walpole Society*, 37 (1960), p. 128.

[180] Aschengreen Piacenti and Boardman, *Ancient and Modern Gems and Jewels*, p. 136.

[181] Y. Kagan, 'Engraved Gems in Britain: The Russian Perspective', in B. Allen and L. Dukelskaya, *British Art Treasures from Russian Imperial Collections in the Hermitage* (New Haven and London, 1996), p. 142.

nonetheless, the quality of some surviving examples has led one recent cataloguer to state that: 'an engraver of this capacity can only have originated in Italy' (Fig. 104).[182] This was certainly the assumption made by John Evelyn when he saw a portrait of Elizabeth 'in a rare sardonyx, cut by a famous Italian' in the collection of the musician Jerome Laniere.[183] Evelyn subsequently stated that Valerio Belli had executed such a portrait,[184] but Belli had died before Elizabeth's accession.

These cameos, and the employment of numerous Italians in the execution of Tudor portrait sculpture, provide an important counterbalance to the prominence accorded to the visit of the painter Federico Zuccaro to England in the summer of 1575. Zuccaro arrived in England bearing a letter of introduction to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester from Chiappino Vitelli, Marquess of Cetona, stating that he wished to serve the Queen.[185] He remained for only a brief period, possibly as little as three months, and of his work executed in England only two sketches survive. In one, Elizabeth is depicted at full length surrounded by various allegorical elements, such as a column for fortitude and an ermine for purity, and the other is a full-length depiction of Robert Dudley (Figs. 105 and 106). If the drawing of Elizabeth was used for a painting, the work is now lost, but Zuccaro appears to have made a favourable impression; Nicholas Hilliard recalled a conversation with the queen in which 'she noted great difference of shadowing in the works, and the diversity of drawers of sundry nations, and that the Italians, who had the name to be cunningest and to draw best shadowed not'.[186] Given the importance of *chiaroscuro* in Italian painting this seems to be an unusual observation, but it does respond quite closely to the linear quality of Zuccaro's drawing of the queen. Knowledge of Zuccaro's visit has had a lasting impact on analysis of Tudor portraiture and many attempts have been made to attribute works to him.[187]

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[182] Aschengreen Piacenti and Boardman, *Ancient and Modern Gems and Jewels*, p. 146.

[183] Evelyn, *The Diary*, III, p. 79: 'I went to *Greenewich* to see againe *Mr. Lenniers* Collection, who shewed me *Q: Elizabeths* head an Intaglia in a rare *Sardonyx*, cut by a famous *Italian*'.

[184] C. Bell, *Evelyn's Sculptura* (Oxford, 1906), p. 61.

[185] BL, MS Cotton Galba C.v, f. 5. For a transcript of the letter see R. Strong, 'Federigo Zuccaro's Visit to England in 1575', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 22 (1959), p. 360.

[186] N. Hilliard, *A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, R. Thornton and T. Cain, eds. (Hatfield, 1981), p. 85.

[187] R. Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth* (New York, 1987), pp. 87-9. The most persistent of these attributions is that of the Darnley Portrait, NPG 2082, in the National Portrait Gallery.

Italians played a key role in the design of arms and armour, and also dominated military engineering in England, which supplies further evidence for the importance of technical skill in their employment. Involvement in this area often necessitated contact with the monarch. This was particularly true of Henry VIII because of his interest in the subject; Richard Morison's 1539 translation of the Roman author Frontinus, *The Strategems, Sleyghtes and Policies of Warre* praised Henry as 'continually manegynge tooles, continually inventyng newe sortes of weapons, newe kindes of shyppes, of gunnes, of armure'.[188] Thus it is not surprising that when Richard Jerningham was sent by Henry VIII to buy arms in Milan in 1511,[189] he also recruited armourers: Filippo de Grampis and Giovanni Angelo de Littis undertook to go to England with three skilled companions.[190] Their arrival is confirmed by a payment the following July for 'the wages of the Armorors of myllene', which was one twelfth of the annual salary of £80 that was promised in their agreement, that is one month's wages.[191] However, there are no other certain references to them and no examples of their work in England have been definitively identified. Ultimately, armour manufacture in England, and most particularly the royal production at Greenwich, came to be dominated by craftsmen from Germany and the Low Countries, echoing the pattern of English purchases during the period. Nonetheless, these armourers provide an example of the international exchange of skills and techniques that was particularly prevalent within the military arts. This often lead individuals to propose new inventions to the monarch. In 1544 a painter of Ravenna, named Giovanbattista, offered Henry VIII the design for 'several round shields and arm pieces with guns inside them that fire upon the enemy and pierce

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It features an identical headdress to the drawing, with a veil arranged in a halo of scallops, and is painted with free brushstrokes that set it apart from the tight technique of northern artists. The pattern of this image was also reused by George Gower, Cornelius Ketel, Nicholas Hilliard, and others, throughout the 1580s and 1590s, which suggests that it had been well received. Strong's suggestion was recently supported in Grosvenor, ed., *Lost Faces*, pp. 99-101 due to similarity with a recently attributed portrait of Margherita of Savoy. However, the Darnley portrait remains catalogued as the work of an unknown Flemish artist.

[188] Colvin, *The History*, IV, p. 375; R. Morison, *The Strategemes, Sleyghgtes and Policies of Warre* (London, 1539),p. A iii.

[189] *CSPV*, II.95.

[190] Blair, 'The Emperor Maximilian's Gift', p. 35.

[191] *Ibid*., p. 35, n. 3.

any armour'.[192] The 1547 inventory lists 'targettes steilde with gonnes', and forty-six examples survive from Henry VIII's armoury (Fig. 107).[193] It is not clear whether these were produced as complete pieces by Giovanbattista or whether the shields were imported and adapted in England,[194] however, they would have been very cumbersome and carried a high risk of injury due to the blast of hot combustion gasses.[195] Nonetheless, they were interesting enough for travellers to note their design; the Duke of Stettin described 'a number of targets, made in such a manner that a gun could be discharged underneath them' during a visit to the Tower in 1602.[196] Similarly an Italian proposed to make a mirror that could be placed on Dover Castle which would be large enough to enable the English to see the ships that left Dieppe.[197] These proposals continued to reach England during Elizabeth's reign; in 1559 Thomas Chaloner reported to Cecil that he had received a recommendation of one 'John Baptista Ficuffino' who had a proposal for a handmill in the form of a mace that could be used by men-at-arms.[198] He was looking for guarantee of a patent before travelling from France.

The Arcano family had perhaps the most successful careers in England in this field.[199] During the fifteenth century the Netherlands had supplied cannon to all the western monarchies, and Mechlin in particular was a major centre of production.[200] However, cannon with a modern profile were an innovation of either the French or Italians at the

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[192] S. Metcalf, A. North and D. Balfour, 'The Conservation of a Gun-Shield From the Arsenal of Henry VIII. Textiles Meets Arms and Armour: The Benefits of a Multi-Disciplinary Research Approach', in R. Douglas Smith, ed., *Make All Sure: The Conservation and Restoration of Arms and Armour* (Leeds, 2006), p. 76.

[193] *1547 Inventory,* no. 3787; Metcalf, et. al., 'The Conservation', pp. 76-90; Rimer, et. al., *Henry VIII,* pp. 228-35.

[194] Metcalf et al., 'The Conservation', p. 83.

[195] Rimer et.al., *Henry VIII,* p. 229.

[196] Von Bülow, 'Diary of the Journey', p. 15.

[197] *L&P,* XVI.712.

[198] *CSPF* 1559-60, 312.

[199] For an overview of their work in England see B. Awty, 'The Arcana Family of Cesena as Gunfounders and Military Engineers', *The Newcomen Society For the Study of the History of Engineering and Technology: Transactions*, 59 (1987-8), pp. 61-80.

[200] *Ibid*., pp. 68-9. For example, Hans Poppenruyter supplied many guns to Henry VIII.

Fig. 107: Gun shield, probably Italian, *c*. 1540, Royal Armouries, V. 79.

Fig. 108: Francesco Arcano, Saker, bronze, 1529, The Royal Armouries, XIX.165.

end of the fifteenth century, and Italian gun founding was held in high regard.[201] In 1523 Henry VIII seems to have deliberately recruited Italian gunners; Gregorio Casale retained nine individuals: 'Fraunces Archano, Archan' his son, Christofer Florent', Jacano Florent', Jerom de Melan, Antony de Napoll, Michaell de Manna, Magnus de Monfera, Buttasago de Cezena, Italyons, gonners, reteyned to do the kynges grace service in his warres'.[202] Casale most likely utilised connections in Ferrara to find these men, for he had already been employed in taking gifts to Alfonso d' Este, who had the nickname 'Il Bombardiere' as a result of his interest in artillery.[203] Their employment provides an interesting precursor to Tartaglia's dedication of his work on artillery to Henry VIII, for yet again the artillery was to be employed against the French, and illustrates the way in which gifts, diplomacy, patronage and recruitment all reinforced each other in terms of enabling Italian material culture to reach England.

At least four members of this group appear to have remained to work in England: Girolamo di Milano and Antonio di Napoli were retained as gunners in the Tower of London,[204] whilst Francesco and Arcangelo Arcano achieved more prominence. Francesco was sent to Calais on various occasions, and for one of these Henry VIII himself added the name of 'Francis the Founder' to a list of commissioners, which is suggestive of a level of personal interaction between the two men.[205] The Italian gunfoundry was at Salisbury place and Arcano also shared the other royal gunfoundry at Houndsditch with the Frenchman Peter Baude;[206] an example of one of his guns survives in the Royal Armouries (Fig. 108).[207] Francesco's son, Arcangelo also had notable career in England; he was sent as a spy to report on the defences of Ardres and other French strongholds around Calais where he used his acquaintance with an Italian

[201] *Ibid*., pp. 70, 72. For Italy's role in developments in artillery production see J-F. Belhoste, 'Nascita e sviluppo dell'artiglieria in Europa', in P. Braustein and L. Molà, *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa*, III: Produzione e tecniche (Treviso, 2007), pp. 325-43.

[202] C. Martin, 'Sir John Daunce's Accounts of Money Received from the Treasurer of the King's Chamber', *Archaeologia*, 47 (1883), pp. 332. It is notable that the gunners seem to have been identified by their place of origin within Italy.

[203] Awty, 'The Arcana Family', pp. 72-3.

[204] *L&P*, IV.i.1610(24).

[205] Atwy, 'The Arcana Family', p. 62.

[206] *Ibid*., p. 62.

[207] Rimer, et. al., *Henry VIII*, p. 306.

employed by the French to gain access to Ardres.[208] The permeability of Anglo-French divisions to Italians could also work the other way. As has been noted, various Italian artisans reached England via the French court, but the possibility always remained that they were spies. In 1560 Elizabeth received warning of a 'horrible device of the Guises to poison her by means of an Italian named Stephano' who was going from France to Germany and then to England in order to offer his services to the queen as an engineer.[209]

Francesco and Arcangelo Arcano were just two of a succession of military engineers who served the Tudors.[210] The case of one of these individuals suggests that on occasion their skills were mishandled. Girolamo da Treviso entered Henry VIII's service and may well have executed paintings for the king - *The Four Evangelists Stoning the Pope* (Fig. 11) has been attributed to him – however, Henry chose to mainly use him as an engineer.[211] Despite Vasari's statement that he amazed Henry with his designs, Treviso's employment as an engineer rather than a painter was not unproblematic. In June 1544 he was sent to Calais and in a response to the king's query about his competence Lord Russell described him as 'inexperienced in sieges' and that his advice was given 'not as a man very skilful in such things'.[212] Henry suggested that he should be given a command of one hundred harquebusiers,[213] but he transferred to Boulogne, where he was killed in an assault on the city.[214] The employment of Treviso reveals

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[208] Atwy, 'The Arcana Family', pp. 64, 66. *L&P*, XX.ii.328**.** Arcano also worked on the defences at Berwick and at Holy Island, and it was noted of his plan for new fortifications at Kelso that 'the King likes his new platt'.

[209] *CSPF*, 1559-60, 1066.

[210] Colvin, *The History*, IV. Colvin discusses the work of various Italians in England including: 'Ant. Fagion, Sicilian', Gian Tommaso Scala, Antonio da Bergamo, 'Giovan' Rossetti, Giovanni Portinari, Iacopo Aconcio and Federico Genebelli.

[211] Vasari, *Le Vite*, V, p. 138: 'condottosi in Inghilterra, da alcuni amici suoi, che lo favorivano, fu preposto al re Arrigo; e giuntogli innanzi, non più per pittor, ma per ingengniere s'accomodò a'servigi suoi. Quivi mostrando alcune prove d'edificj ingegnosi cavati da altri in Toscana e per l'Italia, e quell re giudicandoli miracolosi, lo premiò con doni continui, e gli ordinò provisione di quattrocento scudi l'anno'.

[212] Colvin, *The History*, IV, p. 392; *L&P*, XIX.i.1005.

[213] *L&P*, XIX.ii.37.

[214] *L&P*, XIX.ii.216. The report of his death was described as a blow to Henry's campaign, or '5,000 pound in the King's Highness way'.

Henry's level of personal involvement, and also, perhaps, the way in which through his experience in diplomacy and with those who had sought his patronage, he thought of Italians as military technicians, even if they proved themselves not to be. This evidence for the employment of Italians as technicians is perhaps reinforced by the analogous employment of the Neapolitan Vincenzo Volpe, 'the king's painter', in painting maps, alongside his work painting heraldry for the king's ships and assisting Giovanni da Maiano and Toto in architectural decorative work. In December 1530 he was paid £3 10s for a 'plat' of Rye and Hastings,[215] and a map of Dover Harbour survives which has been attributed to him (Fig. 109).[216] Volpe had worked with Holbein, the astronomer Nicolaus Kratzer, and John Rastell, an early map enthusiast and Thomas More's brother-in-law, in painting an image of the siege of Thérouanne for the festivities at Greenwich in 1527 for the French embassy, however, his work as an 'artist-cartographer' was soon rendered outdated by advances in the field.[217]

It is difficult to assess the level of influence exercised by such individuals over English fortifications. Some of those that were built at the end of Henry VIII's reign, under the threat of a joint Franco-Scottish attack, such as Yarmouth castle on the Isle of Wight (Fig. 110), are in the Italian manner, with an arrow-head bastion looking over the town which offered the opportunity for more comprehensive lines of fire for cannon mounted on top.[218] Such designs, however, may have reached England through exposure to Italian influenced French fortifications, which the English had seen during the campaigns of 1543 and 1544. During their work in England the Italians had to work with an English supervisor and English labourers. This could lead to hybrid forms; at Sandown on the Isle of Wight, Giovanni Portinari, who also supervised Henry VIII's tomb, oversaw the construction of a structure with one square, one round and one angled bastion.[219] Working closely with the English regularly caused problems during Portinari's royal employment: when working with Sir Richard Lee at Berwick upon

[215] Nicolas, *The Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 91.

[216] BL, MS Cotton Augustus I.i.19; Starkey, *Henry VIII*, p. 147.

[217] P. Barber, 'Henry VIII and Mapmaking', in D. Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (London, 1991), pp. 145-51.

[218] White, 'Jacopo Aconcio as an Engineer', p. 428.

[219] Colvin, *The History*, IV, p. 394.

Fig. 109: Vincenzo Volpe, attr., *Dover Harbour*, watercolour on vellum, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus I.i.19.

Fig. 110: Yarmouth Castle, *c*. 1547, Isle of Wight.

Tweed in 1560 one of his plans was stolen from a locked coffer, and when he was sent in 1562 to LeHavre to look at Lee's operation there, the counsel complained that the labourers wouldn't follow his instructions.[220] During Edward's reign Somerset stripped Portinari of his lucrative sinecures and he was compelled to go and work in France; his absence prompted the recruitment of Iacopo Aconcio.[221] When Portinari returned, he was welcomed as an old servant of Elizabeth's father,[222] and Aconcio was added to the commission that was set up to consult on the defences at Berwick so that the veteran Italian would not get outvoted by the Englishmen.[223] The fortifications at Berwick have been described as 'probably the most spectacular example in Northern Europe of the new Italian manner of fortifications ... by 1558 Lee had already learned something of the language of the new Italian military art; at Berwick his Italian colleagues greatly improved his accent'.[224] This was indicative of the way in which native talent came to utilise Italian knowledge; thus, after Portinari and Aconcio the employment of Federico Genebelli between 1585 and 1602 was very much an exception.[225]

Henry VIII's reign was undeniably the peak of Italian recruitment to England. His desire to fashion himself as a Renaissance prince resulted in the recruitment of individuals, not necessarily in order to bring the Italianate to England, but rather to bring technical excellence. Possibly only the work of Mazzoni and Modena reveals a conscious desire by the Tudor monarchs to use an Italian for stylistic reasons, and these instances only arose following the artists' previous association with the French court. At the same time Henry VIII also built more than the other Tudor monarchs and so had more use for artisans and thus there was more opportunity for Italian influences to manifest themselves. Nonetheless, it is clear that the break with Rome did not lead to an exodus of talent. The notion that following the break 'there was no further welcome for artists from Papist Italy, and those already in England, if not instantly expelled, were

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[220] *CSPF*, 1560-1, 628; *CSPF*, 1563, 953.

[221] *CSPF*, 1553-8, 196(1).

[222] *CSPF*, 1558-9, 998; *CSPF*, 1564-5, 483; Colvin, *The History*, IV, p. 409.

[223] TNA, SP59/8, ff. 124-6; White, 'Jacopo Aconcio as an Engineer', p. 437.

[224] *Ibid*., p. 439. For a full discussion of the fortifications see I. MacIvor 'Elizabethan Fortification' *Antiquaries Journal*, 45 (1965), pp. 64-96.

[225] Barber, 'England I', p. 59.

driven away by fear of persecution and not replaced'[226] is disproved by the longevity of the careers of those that remained in England and by the fact that some, such as Toto and Bellin, became denizens. It also discounts the influence of Protestant Italians such as Verzelini who chose to move to England. Nonetheless, even though England continued to offer employment away from the intensively competitive courts of the Italian pensinsula, it is undeniable that to a certain extent the rupture did increase England's distance from the peninsula, which made it more difficult for individuals to travel from Italy, particularly when the break was coupled with the decreasing influence of Italian merchants in England and war in the Low Countries.

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[226] Lees-Milne, *Tudor Renaissance*, p. 9.

Conclusion

Whilst Henry VIII's reign represented the peak of Tudor engagement with Italian material culture – in part because of the high levels of expenditure across all areas during his reign – research into the full breadth of items of Italian material culture that were owned by the Tudor monarchs forces a re-evaluation of the connections that existed between England and Italy during the sixteenth century. The notion that due to the Reformation 'England's burgeoning relationship with Renaissance Italy ... was to be first soured and then effectively terminated',[1] and that this had a catastrophic impact on the transmission of Italian skills to England, is undermined by the fact that diplomacy, trade, and the personal choices of individuals continued to act together to enact this transfer. It also raises the question as to how a 'relationship' between two regions can be assessed, for the pathways of the interrelation of people and things within the overarching concept of 'culture' cannot be reduced to a single narrative. These connections suggest that in 1562 when Cardano wondered at the similarity of the English and the Italians it was not simply an example of an automatic comparison between what he knew and what he saw, but was also a comment on the manners and dress of a people who aspired in some way to associate themselves with Italy. This study has shown how Italian material culture, and the Italians who brought it to England, were integrated into life at court and, therefore, helped to shape the environment that encouraged this attitude.

The research is undeniably Italocentric, but it has not aimed to reinforce any notion of the cultural hegemony of Italy in sixteenth-century Europe. The evidence that utility was prized by the English to a greater extent than style suggests that England's engagement with Italian material culture was not illustrative of a desire to emulate the artistic patronage of the Italians but rather stemmed from the desire to obtain the best examples of material culture that were available. This drive was, therefore, equally satisfied through the acquisition of works by Northern goldsmiths or armourers, it was simply that Italians came to be associated with certain areas of expertise: italic handwriting, music, glass and luxury textile manufacture, portrait sculpture and military engineering. Thus, the methodology of tracing the interaction between two regions

[1] Chaney, *The Evolution of English Collecting*, p. 32.

through the acquisition biographies of objects could be equally applied to the French or Spanish possessions of the Tudor monarchs, for, as has been noted by Jardine, what can emerge most strongly through the study of cultural objects is their '*density* and *thickness*' and their 'resistance to being reduced to a thin theoretical account'.[2] Since tracing the biographies of objects naturally leads to the biographies of individuals, and from there to broader issues such as economic trends, diplomacy and the creation of a notion of national identity, it is a research model that could be used to analyse the cultural interaction that occurred between other regions.

Nonetheless, the study of Italian material culture in England has certain distinct characteristics which have shaped this research and which would differentiate it from a similar project that looked at French or Spanish material culture. A relatively small number of individuals were involved in the direct transmission of Italian items from an Italian context to an English one. This makes it possible to discuss a broad chronological period using a set of objects which would be too small for statistical analysis. At the same time, the narrative of the Italian community in England was not one of mass migration, as occurred with the French and Dutch communities in the later sixteenth century. As a result, the individuals who can be traced can perhaps justifiably be studied as agents in their own right. Even though a model for the transformation of a multitude of biographical details into a meaningful synthesis has been described as 'peculiarly elusive',[3] the fact that the Italians were operating within a smaller community made them naturally more prominent, both as members of their own community, and in their interaction with the court. Furthermore, as has been noted, it was also during the Tudor period that humanism spread from Italy across Europe and a passion for Italy became manifest in English drama. Thus analysis of the specifically Italian material culture that was owned by the Tudor monarchs provides an interesting context for the development in England of ideas about the term 'Italian' in relation to character traits, and the perils of the adoption of the 'Italianate' by the English. For example, it exposes the fact that there was a possible disjunction between the idea of Italy as the 'enchanter and ideological foil' of the English imagination, and the much

[2] L. Jardine, 'Towards a Reading of Albion's Classicism and An Exchange of Gifts Between Northern Classical Scholars', in L. Gent, ed., *Albion's Classicism: Visual Arts in England, 1550-1650* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 26.

[3] Bratchel, 'Regulation and Group Consciousness', p. 588.

more pragmatic acquisition of Italian material culture and accumulation of the skills associated with it, for whilst the term ‘Italianate’ had very specific connotations linguistically, it did not seem to be applied to things in the sixteenth century.

In addition to this, tracing the biographies of objects and the means by which they were acquired by the Tudor monarchs reveals the network of Italian individuals who had close contact with the English court throughout the sixteenth century - Braudel’s ‘l’Italia fuori d’Italia’. The activities of this network, and the interaction of the Italians with the English, provide evidence and possible explanations for the attempts to move from importing Italian luxury items into England to importing Italian skills. For example, the changing structure of Italian mercantile activity reduced the number of high status merchants at court, which consequently limited the flow of certain items of Italian material culture to England even though English trade was expanding into the Mediterranean. The manner in which Italians worked in England is also demonstrated, for even though Italian material culture in England clearly became associated with the production of certain items, in each case the Italians had to work within an English framework: using English kilns, collaborating with other artisans, or making items that would specifically appeal to an English market.

Thus, just as the English were adopting the traits of the Italians in a manner that was considered by some to be dangerous, Italian skills were being incorporated into the production of material culture in England. At the end of the sixteenth century the Italianate Englishman was a well-recognised figure, and at the same time ‘Venetian glass’ could be made at the Crutched Friars, the skill in weaving that Henry VII had proudly associated with Florence in the description of the Stonyhurst copes in his will was soon to develop in England as the ‘New Draperies’ began to flourish as a result of an influx of French and Dutch refugees - who had themselves learned the skills through the earlier migration of Italians - and the italic hand that had differentiated the Italians from their English counterparts at the beginning of the century had become far more prevalent amongst the English at its end. Perhaps this shift is most clearly paralleled by contrasting the comments of Henry VII with those of his granddaughter Elizabeth I: Henry was ‘glad to see foreigners, and especially Italians’, whilst Elizabeth considered herself to be ‘half Italian’.

Other threads can be drawn from the mass of individual biographies of both the objects and the people who interacted with them; for example, the position of France in encouraging the acquisition of items that could be identified as stylistically Italian, for it is only in relation to France that it is perhaps possible to glimpse a self-conscious choice to acquire material culture that was specifically Italian. Not only were the English who visited France exposed to the Italian styles that had been adopted by the French with such enthusiasm following their military campaigns on the Italian peninsula, but Anglo-French cultural competition also occasionally necessitated England's own direct contact with Italy. This aspect of Anglo-French relations peaked during the reigns of Henry VIII and Francis I. They exchanged Italian horses and Italian textiles as gifts, they ensured that they had access to the best of those textiles to wear, and to surround themselves with, on the occasions that they met. At the point when Francis was staking a claim to Milan, Henry ensured that he owned Milanese armour and swords, and Henry even went so far as to employ an Italian who had worked at Fontainebleau, and to use his knowledge as a means of understanding Francis I's building programs and decorative schemes.

Finally, the many threads that have been uncovered also suggest that this research can be carried forward to the Stuart court with the application of the same methodology to the seventeenth century. It is at this point that items in royal possession began to be categorised and displayed in ways that adhere more closely to the idea of a collection. It would, therefore, be interesting to discover whether patterns of acquisition changed in order to facilitate this, and also if the pattern became one of cultural transfer rather than exchange, with the direct acquisition and passive reception of items, rather than the process that favoured the creation of hybrid items, such as the Stonyhurst copes, which was evident in the sixteenth century. The networks of individuals who acted as agents for the transmission of items from Italy to England would also provide an interesting model with which to assess the Stuart engagement with contemporary Italy, from Prince Henry's proposed marriage to the daughter of the Duke of Florence to Charles I's deliberate purchases of Italian paintings and sculpture and his view that the seventeenth-century artist Guido Reni had superseded his Renaissance predecessors. Furthermore, study of the Stuart period might further nuance the understanding of the role of the Catholic Church in Rome in the acquisition of Italian material culture, for whilst it has been shown that the break in the sixteenth century did not cut England off from Italy it

is undeniable that the closer contact of the seventeenth century allowed for greater access, which facilitated the acquisition of certain items. Ultimately, the Commonwealth's Sale of the Late King's Goods, and the dispersion of many of the Tudor monarchs' possessions, provides a poignant gloss to a study of the biography of objects which is ordered by the means by which the Tudors acquired Italian material culture. For whilst the items that came to England each carried their own rich narrative of transmission, by 1649 they were all grouped together as commodities, valued only for their price at sale.

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